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ABSTRACT

This book, one of a series of National Educational Policies Reviews, contains three reports which examine educational policy in Canada. The Education Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) conducts the educational reviews of its member countries in an effort to stimulate a process of self-examination in the field of educational policy. Part one contains the Examiners' Report and discusses educational policy development since the early 1960's, the equality of educational opportunity in Canada, how minority groups have fared, democratization and participation, and the role government plays in policy making. Part two contains a record of the review discussion held between Canadian educators and the OECD Educational Committee. The agenda of the discussion was based on the following problem areas identified by the Examiners: intergovernment relations; the policy-making process; school governance; bilingualism; levels of the school system--problems in the content of education; educational opportunity; and educational research, information, and dissemination. Part three contains the background report, prepared by the Canadian Authorities, discussing the constitutional, statistical, operational, and organizational background of education in Canada. **(Author/RM)

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CANADA

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PARIS 1976

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PREFACE

This book contains three reports contributing to the examination of educational policy in Canada, which was conducted as one of a series of such Reviews of National Educational Policies by the Education Committee of the OECD.

The Background Report, prepared for this Review by the Canadian authorities warrants special attention. It consists of six volumes which have been published separately and was the product of a cooperative effort which involved all of the provincial ministries of education, the Council of Education Ministers, and the Federal Government. A Coordinating Committee was also established for this OECD exercise. The Background Report divides the task of reporting on the situation of education in Canada by devoting a volume to each of four geographical regions, Ontario, Quebec, the Atlantic Region (1) and the Western Region (2). The Federal Government contributed a fifth volume covering its educational support programmes and education in the northern territories of Canada. The sixth volume is the summary.

This 750-page Background Report is illustrative of the thorough preparations conducted by the Canadian authorities for this exercise. It is perhaps significant that these authorities viewed this report as their "internal" review and examination against which the OECD contributed in effect an "external" review - a view-point which represents almost a tradition in this activity in which country authorities are encouraged to use the OECD Review procedures to stimulate a process of self-examination in the field of educational policy.

The six volumes of the Background Report have been published separately, but the summary volume is also included as Part III of the present publication.

In the Examiners' Report, Part One of this book, the Examiners make an extended statement of their views on the main policy problems and opportunities for education in Canada. Their opportunity to prepare this statement was abundantly facilitated by the Canadian authorities : the Background Report was available in both official languages ; the month-long visit in Canada by the Examiners' group and a

1) Provinces of New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.

2) Provinces of British Columbia, Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan.

Secretariat representative was organised to cover a remarkable representation of this continental country and the people concerned with every aspect of education. The Canadian authorities also facilitated a great accumulation of secondary information from citizen organisations before and during the Examiners' visit, which was carefully considered and checked when the Examiners formulated their questions and finally wrote their report.

The questions of the Examiners' Report formed the basis for the discussion held in the OECD Education Committee, attended by a large delegation from Canada, on 9th December, 1975 in Paris. This discussion, summarised by the Examiners' rapporteur as Part Two of this book, reflected the importance of the main issues raised here for education, both in a national and international context. The main concern behind these issues is how to reconcile growing wealth and a commitment to equality with the demand to differentiate among people according to their needs, especially when their needs may demand bigger or different resources. The Canadian reality with its continental size and remarkable variety in terms of local community, economy, tradition and terrain, culture and language, affords a special opportunity to face this concern. Furthermore, there is the added fact that while English is the language of the English-speaking majority, more than a quarter of the Canadian people are French-speaking, a fact constituting a long-term challenge recognised by Canadian authorities on every side : to retain and develop a bilingual society that is also multi-cultural. Canadian authorities had gone to great lengths to make this Review meaningful as an independent critique. Therefore the Examiners and the members of the Education Committee were encouraged in the discussion of such issues as minority language and culture, to feel free to study the problem and express their opinions. This is particularly significant at a time when the resolution of cultural problems which is one main business of education, is increasingly seen as fundamental to the political and economic well-being of nations.

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Part One

REPORT BY THE EXAMINERS

FOREWORD

The official visit to Canada by the OECD Examiners on which the following report is based, occupied the entire month of June, 1975, taking us the length and breadth of this continental country, from the Northwest Territories to the easternmost tip of Nova Scotia. Of course, the main point of this experience was not geography. The Canadian authorities had arranged an intensive round of visits, conferences and conversations with a wide-ranging sample of personalities and groups who in public, official, private or unofficial capacities are concerned with education in Canada. A special committee of the Canadian Council of Education Ministers, the staff of the Council, regional and provincial authorities and federal officials did indeed attempt to respond to the examiners' searching queries for information from all possible sources relevant to educational policy issues in their areas.

The Examiners highly appreciated the participation along the way of most of the 12 provincial Ministers of Education, their Deputies, top administrators, and federal officials in Ottawa all of whom gave valuable parts of their time to take the lead in an informative round of discussions. Our itinerary included Toronto, Edmonton, Fort Smith, Winnipeg, Quebec City, Halifax, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Ottawa, where we met with political leaders, local administrators, school principals, teachers, students, professional and trade organisation representatives, parents and community leaders, often within the physical setting of relevant institutions in these areas. A detailed list of people and organisations included in our discussions is available from the OECD on request.

We are aware that even with all of these exertions, our experience can only represent a sample of the reality of the Canadian experience in education ; but in an intensive process of exchange, illuminating differences of opinion and even controversy, it was also clear that there was a spirit of genuine search for understanding in the field of policy for education in Canada. This search, which was evident, and the generosity and hospitality which were shown to the OECD Examiners on every hand, combined to encourage us in the notion that we might by direct representation of our still developing understandings in this field, contribute in a useful manner to this public search for educational policy in Canada.

The basic document made available to the Examiners in preparation for this visit is itself a landmark in OECD country preparation for such a review of educational policy. Published in six volumes, covering each of the major regions in Canada in turn and the federal activities in the field of education, and prepared in both of the official Canadian languages, English and French, this work represents in itself a new level of inter-provincial co-operation as well as some working out of practical arrangements for communication among federal authorities and provincial educational authorities toward an understanding of this important sector of social policy. It is on the basis of this carefully orchestrated internal Canadian effort that any usefulness of this review will rest.

This review of educational policy in Canada perhaps comes at a time which may be considered an exceptional juncture in the development of education. It comes at what seems to be the end of a period of exceptional expansion - an expansion which has allowed for higher expectations, widespread experimentation, and perhaps over-idealized hopes for the social transformations that could be brought about through education. As in the case of many countries, education in Canada faces a new era of recognising realistic limitations of education, a time of bringing education close to concommitant social policies which must be developed in parallel with education for its promises to come anywhere near to the realisation of the objectives that it would be expected to serve. Thus, in all cases major educational issues are seen to require treatment within the framework of larger political and social concerns, concerns for inter-governmental relations, participation in policy-making processes, the participation of minorities, the development of bi-culturalism, and the role of education in the development of a national culture alongside the development of a national economy.

I. INTRODUCTION

An OECD Examiners' Report on Canadian educational policies and practices must place more emphasis than do other reports in this series on the specific geographical, historical, cultural and political conditions governing educational policy in the country examined. Otherwise, it is not possible to understand Canadian educational policy or to do it justice.

This is, however, exactly the sense of an OECD country educational examination : not to give abstract advice, however well intentioned, but to render an account of the actual educational scene as seen by the Examiners on the basis of their most sympathetic understanding. Only in this way can it be hoped the Examiners may help educational development in Canada in theory and practice.

A few facts are presented below, as indispensable for an understanding of the educational systems of Canada.

Topography and demography

Canada is the second largest country in the world. Its 3.8 million square miles extend over an area twice as large as Europe, although Canada numbers a population of only 22 millions. Yet even a comparison of Canada's population density of 54 inhabitants per square mile with France's 240, or the Netherlands' 923, does not bring out a point which needs emphasis : the startling contrast between the virtually empty vastnesses of much of the country and the tightly packed metropolitan populations of Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and of a number of other important industrial centres.

The topographical and climatic differences reflect the vast extent of the country, and are exemplified by the 5 1/2 hour time difference between the East and West coasts. Until the development of a country-wide railroad link the distances, even within the boundaries of many of the Canadian provinces, were so great and so difficult to overcome in the face of climatic conditions and interruptions of communications that, for this reason alone, it was difficult to think in terms of a centralised governmental and administrative state. Even today, with the vastly improved communication possibilities provided by air and road transport, radio, television and telephone links, the geographical distances and the topographical and climatic conditions remain a factor with strong political and cultural implications that should not be forgotten. In particular, the concentration of population in the belt along the southern border with the United States has meant that north-south links with United States neighbours have often been as strongly, or almost as strongly, forged as east-west links with the neighbouring Canadian provinces.

Some consequences

One consequence of these factors has been a preference for decentralised solutions that has deep traditional roots. This predilection for decentralised forms developed out of the natural conditions of the country and, firmly rooted in the historical development of North America, has been marked by the specifically Canadian form of confederated state.

A second consequence has been that Canadian federalism has been strongly influenced by the United States' example, but it is far from being a mere copy of the federal forms adopted by Canada's southern neighbour. For example, under the British North America Act (1867), residual powers not specifically awarded to the provinces lie with the federal government ; whereas in the United States, they reside with the states. Indeed, many Canadian political and administrative practices may even be regarded as originating in a desire to demonstrate that Canada marches to a different drummer.

Canada has not only brought together ten provinces that are highly conscious of their constitutional prerogatives, each of them playing an independent role, but it also contains local, sub-provincial authorities of importance.

It was historically, and remains today, the locality out of which have arisen responsible and self-governing democratic community forms (including the church and the school). Woe to the provincial government that tried to place this tradition of local self-government in fundamental question. Woe, too, to the federal government, that would seek to infringe on the rights of the provinces, no matter with what good intentions in mind. From a theoretical and traditional point of view, no provincial government could place the principle of local self-government seriously in question. Yet the reality of the educational governance developments of the past 10-15 years shows a decisive move away from local school autonomy at least in matters of finance. Similarly, the assumed strict theoretical and constitutional limits on the federal government's competence in educational matters have proved to be fairly elastic in practice.

While decentralisation of the provision and control of schooling remains a cardinal feature of Canadian educational policy, there are strong elements working in the direction of centralisation.

Historical and constitutional elements

The settlement of the British and French colonies in Canada, in contrast to the experience of the United States, progressed at a significantly slower pace and was completed in closer association with the traditions of Great Britain. Moreover, the loosening of bonds between Britain and the Canadian colonies came gradually and in a peaceful manner, developing toward the status of an independent Dominion that only step-by-step conceived of itself as a separate political entity.

The Confederation grew from the four founding provinces in 1867 (Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick), to include three more in the 1870s (Manitoba, British Columbia and Prince Edward Island), with Saskatchewan and Alberta joining in 1905 and finally Newfoundland in 1949.

The adherence of the provinces to the Confederation was achieved on the constitutional basis set by the British North America Act (1867), Section 93 of which laid down that "in and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education...".

The framework of educational policy, as well as its content, has been much affected by this constitutional guarantee, as well as by the further guarantees to religious groups under the same section of the BNA Act, entrenching their rights to denominational and separate schools.

One of the essential facts of political and educational life in Canada today is that the guarantees that the provinces and the religious groups received under Section 93 of the BNA Act are deeply entrenched. Consequently, the predominant role of the provinces in the provision and regulation of education is basic and in most Provinces (1) denominational schools have drawn upon public funds, and are administered separately from non-denominational public schools.

Linguistic and cultural variety

In addition, schools with instruction in French and English are demanded by and provided for the francophone and anglophone groups, respectively. Roughly 60 per cent of the population have English as their mother tongue and 27 per cent have French. Quebec is 80 per cent francophone, so that there are well over half-a-million anglophones in Quebec Province to be provided for, and there are considerable

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1) Private schools do not receive public financial support in British Columbia and Manitoba.

francophone concentrations of population in the other provinces, particularly in New Brunswick, Ontario, Alberta, and Manitoba.

The educational scene is further enriched by the presence of schools catering for the linguistic and cultural needs of the non-francophone, non-anglophone groups : Germans, Ukrainians, Italians and Chinese, to name only a few. Many of these schools are run on a weekend, or after-day-school basis. In addition, there are full-time schools catering for the needs of the "original Canadians", the Registered Indians and Inuit.

In a world dominated by ideals of national consciousness, it can be no surprise that there is much talk of the nature of a "Canadian identity", but that in the face of these multiplicities of regional, religious, political and cultural groupings it has become difficult to define it clearly, let alone achieve it beyond question. For such an identity can neither be centrally established, nor easily created out of the variety and diversity of the Canadian people.

All these factors together provide some indication of the special conditions under which educational policy in Canada has had to go forward.

Education and politics

Canadian education policy may be one of the least "politicised" in the world. Indeed, it is as if the attempt has been made in this field since the beginning to avoid party-political controversy at any cost. Study of the rather meagre provincial Parliamentary debates on education reveals little evidence of political controversy in the realm of educational policy, except for some occasional debates on questions of financing separate and private schools. The political parties make few if any statements on specific educational matters and, except in the case of Quebec, the second largest of the provinces, (1) there is no clearly-formulated concept of education policy set in the context of a comprehensive framework of general social policies. Reforms in education are almost totally pragmatic, or so generally conceived and relying so heavily on United States, British, and French models, more or less adapted to Canadian conditions, that the opportunity for party political conflict is, for all practical purposes, excluded.

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1) By the late 1950s, socio-economic development in Quebec was lagging far behind that of the other predominantly anglophone provinces. It was only the "révolution tranquille", with its profound changes in every field of Quebec society, that called a halt to the economic, political and cultural decline of Quebec vis-à-vis the other provinces. The "révolution tranquille" has produced a strong general politicisation of most aspects of social life, and has affected educational policy in Quebec deeply.

The six Background Reports (1) prepared for the OECD Examination contained no references to any party-political differences over educational policy, and the same absence of open political controversy was noted by the Examiners during their discussions in Canada.

Thus, it is understandable that, with very few exceptions, the responsible Ministers of Education usually preferred not to engage in discussions of fundamental policy discussions with the Examiners, leaving the interpretation of educational policy in Canada to their officials, to the representatives of the numerous interest groups, to professional educators, and to the Examiners' own impressions.

Conclusions

The Examiners have drawn the following general conclusions :

Until now Canada has experienced a predominantly unplanned development. Its abundance of resources and rapid economic growth have provided an automatic guarantee of collective material gains, and most Canadians have been able, too, to improve their material position rapidly and significantly. Really serious political or economic crises have been few, and there has hardly been occasion to dramatise such problems as do exist, given that they do not present themselves as really critical. This comparatively fortunate situation has prevailed especially in matters of educational policy. What may seem to non-Canadians to be "intolerable" modes of operation are not only tolerated, but accepted happily by most Canadians, because in spite of these modes of operation, they feel (not without justification) that most things to date have gone along quite well.

Unlike most other comparable industrialised countries, Canada has *neither* produced a politically motivated educational reform, rooted in a conception of the country's future (2), nor has it blocked such reform, as has happened in a number of European countries. Instead, Canada has trodden out its own path, with an array of exceptionally

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1) Canada followed the practice that is standard for OECD examinations of Member countries' educational policy : a document summarising the country's "self-review" was prepared prior to the country-visit by the Examiners, and formed the basis for the Examiners' discussions, information and review. For Canada, six such documents were prepared, all under the general title *Review of Educational Policies in Canada*, with subtitles as follows : Foreword and Introduction ; Atlantic Region Report (covering Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick) ; Quebec Report ; Ontario Report ; Western Region Report (covering Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia) ; Government of Canada Report (covering, inter alia, Northwest Territories and Yukon). We refer to these documents generically as the "Background Reports", where necessary specifying the particular report referred to.

2) Quebec is a possible exception to this generalisation.

active programmes for vast quantitative expansion and significant qualitative change of the education system that are, however, derived from no explicitly-stated, overall national conception of the country's interests.

II. DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY SINCE THE EARLY 1960s

The development of an educational system and the efforts made in the past few years in the direction of quantitative and qualitative improvement can be most clearly seen in a few statistics.

The relative and absolute progress that has been achieved in the last 15 to 20 years in Canadian education is obvious from both a Canadian as well as from an international comparison. Until the late 1940s, Canada could be counted as one of the less developed (educationally) of the great democracies. Today, it is numbered clearly among the educational leaders, certainly as far as quantitative development is concerned : of the 22 million Canadians in 1971, roughly 6,1/2 million (thirty per cent) were enrolled in some formal educational activity. (See Table 1 for some international comparisons).

This enormous common achievement is all the more noteworthy, in view of very unequal economic, cultural, and demographic conditions, that produced highly differentiated results in terms of educational development from region to region. For the present, we shall give figures simply on a national basis since 1960 that describe the growth in enrolments, number of teachers employed, and financial resources expended.

Enrolment

Total full-time enrolment in schools of all types has shown the following changes :

1960-61	4,367,500
1965-66	5,475,000
1970-71	6,361,400
1971-72	6,363,100
1972-73	6,329,200
1973-74	6,205,100^{P}
1974-75	6,184,900^{E}
1975-76	6,133,400^{E}

^{E} : Estimated ^{P} : Preliminary

1971-72 saw the highest full-time enrolment that the Canadian education system has experienced to date, an increase of 45.7 per cent above the 1960-61 mark. The slight decline since 1971-72 (about 4 per cent) is entirely due to smaller enrolments at the elementary levels, as the size of the younger age-groups declines.

Table 1

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POPULATION AND FULL-TIME ENROLMENT BY SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1970

Selected countries	Population	Enrolment	Enrolment as % of population
Canada	21,291.1	6,583.4	30.9
United States	205,395.0	62,747.1	30.6
France	50,775.0	12,303.2	24.2
United Kingdom	55,711.0	11,056.1	19.8
Japan	104,553.0	22,154.7	21.2
USSR	242,768.0	62,516.6	25.8
Italy	53,667.0	11,009.6	20.5
West Germany	61,682.0	12,706.0	20.6
East Germany	17,250.0	4,008.0	23.2
India	474,870.0	67,411.8	14.2

Adapted from Statistics Canada and United Nations data.

Enrolment figures at the various levels of the educational system have increased as follows :

	Kindergarten (1)	Elementary and secondary (2)	Full-Time Post-Secondary (3)
1960-61	195,571	4,058,731	163,143
1965-66	267,752	4,933,489	273,612
1970-71	400,131	5,485,667	475,548
1973-74	387,226	5,323,445	534,209
1975-76	433,130	5,115,345	583,970

1) Figures for private kindergartens included only from 1965-66.

2) Includes Grades I - XIII, ungraded schools and schools for blind and deaf.

3) University and non-university. Part-time university enrolments in 1975-76 numbered 176,470. Part-time enrolments in continuing education courses numbered 1,212,000 in 1972-73 (About one-half of these enrolments were for credit).

Full-time enrolment related to the relevant age-groups has changed as follows (in per cent) :

	Kindergarten(1) and 5 Year-Olds	Grades I-XIII(2) ans 6-17 Year-Olds	Post-Secondary and 18-24 Year-Olds
1961-62	36.7	96.4	10.6
1971-72	81.6	100.3	18.5
1972-73	88.3	99.7	18.4
1973-74	96.3P	98.4P	18.9P

1) Excludes private kindergarten and nursery schools.

2) Includes Grades I-XIII and ungraded, but excludes schools for the blind and deaf.

P : Preliminary

The signal growth of kindergarten provision and post-secondary participation is evident. In ten years, the retention rate of pupils as measured by Grade XII enrolment related to Grade II enrolment ten years earlier, had been doubled :

1961-62 : 36.4 per cent

1966-67 : 52.0

1971-72 : 71.3

1972-73 : 71.0

More children were entering school, more were staying longer, and more were re-entering (often as part-time students) after a period out of school.

An international comparison shows that Canada's position is among the leaders in the development of post-secondary opportunities :

ENROLMENT RATIOS FOR THE 20-24 YEAR AGE GROUP
SELECTED COUNTRIES
(percentage)

	1960	1965	1969
Canada	13.5	20.9	25.5
France	7.4	13.9	15.9
Japan	8.6	11.9	15.8
England and Wales	6.2	8.7	9.8
USA	32.2	40.4	48.4
USSR	11.0	29.5	26.5
West Germany	5.8	9.2	12.1

Source : David Munroe, The Organization and Administration of Education in Canada, Ottawa, Secretary of State, Education Support Branch, 1974, p. 212.

The proportion of full-time women students in total full-time post-secondary enrolment has remained constant over the period 1962-63 to 1971-72 at roughly 39 per cent. There have been marked rises in the proportion of full-time women students in total university enrolment and a fall in women's share in total post-secondary non-university enrolment, taken separately, but these changes reflect mostly the consequences of transferring teacher training colleges from the non-university to the university sector.

The proportion of university teachers who were women had not risen much over thirteen years :

1960 : 11.7 per cent
1970 : 12.8
1973 : 13.0

Nor did the proportion of women receiving the doctorate at Canadian universities increase notably :

1960 : 9.8 per cent
1970 : 9.3
1973 : 11.6 P

P : Preliminary.

Teachers

The rapid expansion of the school population led to a sharp rise in the size of the teaching staff at all levels. Since 1971-72, there has been a small decline (which is projected to continue for some years) in the number of elementary/secondary school teachers, though the number of post-secondary academic staff has continued to grow.

FULL-TIME TEACHING STAFF

	Elementary Secondary (1)	Post-Secondary		Total
		University	Non-University E	
1961-62	173,877	8,755 E	4,376	187,008
1966-67	223,264	16,675 E	6,266	246,205
1971-72	272,162	26,318	14,133	312,613
1973-74	268,357 P	29,919 P	15,900 P	314,176
1975-76	270,975 E	30,510 E	17,210 E	318,695
1976-77	269,750 E	31,070 E	17,615 E	318,435

E : Estimated   P : Preliminary

1) Excludes private kindergartens and nursery schools and schools for blind and deaf.

Because the number of full-time teachers grew more rapidly even than did enrolments, pupil-teacher ratios have improved from 25.7 in 1960-61 to 21.5 in 1970-71, elementary and secondary schools combined. The ratio has remained fairly stable since then. (The estimate for 1975-76 is 20.5). At the post-secondary level, too, the universities have exhibited an improved student-staff ratio : 14.6 in 1961-62 and 12.2 in 1975-76.

Expenditures

The last 16 years have witnessed an almost eight-fold increase in the funds spent by or on behalf of education institutions in Canada (see Table 2, part A).

Part of this increase is attributable to increased wage and salary levels and higher prices paid for the goods purchased by schools, colleges, and universities. A simple education-price deflator, prepared at the request of the Examiners (1), helps to provide an estimate of the increase in expenditures in constant-dollar terms, i.e. net of the effects of wage and price inflation (see Table 2, part B). This procedure deflates the increase in total educational expenditures from nearly six-fold between 1960-61 and 1973-74 to nearly three-fold, still an impressive increase.

A measure of the improved "quality" of the educational effort made by Canadians is in the figures of per pupil and per student expenditures, in constant-dollar terms. Using the same deflator as in Table 2, Part B, the following figures are obtained :

PER PUPIL/STUDENT EXPENDITURES
(constant, 1960-61 dollars)

	Elementary and Secondary	Post-Secondary Non-university	University
1960-61	$ 305	$ 915	$ 1,603
1965-66	387	884	1,787
1970-71	522	1,218	2,539
1971-72	531	1,296	2,494
1972-73	509	1,147	2,375
1973-74	504	1,162	2,264

Over the decade of the 1960s, Canadian education authorities not only accommodated in the schools, colleges and universities roughly 50 per cent more pupils and community students, they also spent 50 per cent more on average on each of them in "real" terms (2).

Another graphic way to describe the Canadian financial effort is to trace the share of educational expenditure in the country's Gross National Product :

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1) See Appendix A for details.

2) The figures given do not reflect the rise in the real salaries and benefits of teachers since 1960-61. Hence, the increased real expenditures on education may not have covered the pay of proportionately more teachers than in 1960-61. However, part of the increased real pay of teachers must be ascribed to their higher overall levels of qualification and preparation. The Examiners have not been able to identify the relative weights to be given to these two considerations.

1960	4.4 per cent
1966	6.1
1970	9.0
1971	8.9
1972	8.4
1973	8.0
1974	7.5

Comparing Canada's figures with those of other countries, and though there is a marked downturn evident for the most recent years, one sees immediately that, in international perspective, Canada's allocations of resources to education have developed from a clearly generous one :

Table 2

EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION, SELECTED YEARS

Part A : in millions of current dollars

	Elementary and Secondary		Post-Secondary Non-University		University		Vocational & Occupational Training		Total	
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%
1960-61	1,328.3	77.9	57.6	3.4	272.9	16.0	47.2	2.7	1,706.0	100.00
1965-66	2,410.8	70.9	98.8	2.9	736.6	21.7	153.4	4.5	3,399.5	100.00
1970-71	4,880.4	63.6	430.0	5.6	1,790.8	23.3	574.8	7.5	7,676.0	100.00
1973-74	6,200.6	65.2	635.3	6.7	2,029.3	21.3	649.5	6.8	9,514.7	100.00
1975-76	7,885.3	64.5	892.0	7.3	2,641.2	21.6	809.5	6.6	12,228.0	100.00

Part B : in millions of constant, 1960-61 dollars (1)

1960-61	1,328.3	57.6	272.9	47.2	1,706.0
1965-66	2,050.0	84.0	626.4	130.4	2,890.7
1970-71	3,132.5	276.0	1,149.4	368.9	4,926.8
1973-74	2,949.9	302.2	965.4	309.0	4,526.5

1) See Appendix A for details of the construction of the price-deflator used.

SHARE OF GNP DEVOTED TO PUBLIC EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION

(percentage)

	1961	1969
Canada	4.6 (1)	8.3 (1)
France	2.4 (2)	4.5
Japan	4.1 (2)	4.0
United Kingdom	4.3	5.6
United States	4.0 (3)	6.3
USSR	5.9 (2)	7.3
West Germany	2.9	3.6

1) Figures for Canada have been subsequently revised downward to 4.3 % for 1961, and 7.6 % for 1969.

2) Figure is for 1960.

3) Figure is for 1959.

Source : David Munroe, The Organization and Administration of Education in Canada, op. cit., P. 212.

Not only did educational expenditure become more important in the economy taken as a whole, it also became more important as an element in total government expenditure :

TOTAL GOVERNMENTAL(1) EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION AND OTHER MAJOR FUNCTIONS

(Percentage)

	Education	Defence	Health	Social Welfare	Transportation
1960-61	14.0	17.0	7.8	15.1	13.5
1965-66	18.5	12.2	9.9	15.0	12.8
1970-71	22.2	6.8	13.4	17.2	10.3
1971-72	20.9	6.3	13.4	19.3	10.2
1974-75	17.8	..	..	..	..

1) Federal, provincial and municipal.

Some Results

The expansion of the last 16 years has had many consequences for the educational attainment of the Canadian population. Between the 1961 and 1971 Censuses, the proportion of the population with an elementary education, or less, fell sharply, while the proportion with a university degree doubled :

COMPARISON OF 1961 and 1971 CENSUS POPULATION NOT IN SCHOOL AT 5 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

	1961		1971	
	('000)	%	('000)	%
Less than grade 5	1,557	21.7	1,426	10.3
Grades 5-8	4,172	34.9	4,102	29.7
Grades 9-10	2,407	18.5	2,996	21.7
Grades 11-13	2,809	20.0	2,953	21.4
Post-Secondary Non-university	N/A	N/A	1,045	7.6
University (some)	344	2.7	678	4.9
University Degree	327	2.2	614	4.4
Total	11,616	100.0	13,814	100.0

The development and progress of educational policy is to be seen only partly in statistics. The qualitative aspect of these changes must also be stressed. All across Canada a series of profound changes in curricula, school organisation and governance, and the educational expectations of the population have been taking place. Nowhere has this been more marked than in francophone Canada.

An unprecedented change has been accomplished in Quebec and in neighbouring New Brunswick and in Ontario for the French-speaking part of the population. In Quebec, especially, an entire educational system has moved from a closed, fragmented and elitist structure to a unified and open one, from an outmoded narrowly-centered classical curriculum to a modern and comprehensive one, from a church-dominated, restrictive philosophy to a laicised and permissive one ; this move has accompanied but has also triggered a movement of the whole society which in the process has been profoundly changed.

Other parts of the Canadian educational system have not undergone comparative qualitative changes, especially since the French-speaking community was lagging behind and has now caught up in its own special way with the general evolution of the rest of the country. The same process has been at work everywhere for the regions and to some extent for the social groups that were lagging behind.

Specifically, the most important development in the educational system of Canada in the last two decades has been the systematic build-up of a public comprehensive school system in all of the 10 Provinces and in the two Territories administered by the Federal Government. This system is intended to offer to each child, irrespective of social origin, talent, race and sex, the same access to education, and a course of studies that is usually 12 years long, plus an introductory one-year kindergarten. (There are certain exceptions : Quebec Province and Newfoundland offer an 11-year school ; Ontario a 13-year school, though many children leave school after the twelfth year if they do not aim at entering university immediately ; and there are other exceptions, too).

There follows upon this comprehensive system an intricately developed tertiary sector, to which is attached a multitude of special provisions for adult education, continuing education, lifelong learning, and so forth.

There are also many opportunities offered for adult education outside the limits of the formal tertiary education system. Thus, the most impressive aspect of educational organisation in Canada - and this is common to all the Provinces - is the high participation rate in the system. The completion of 12 years schooling is a normal expectation and the opportunity for education after this level is quite widely used. Formal hindrances to educational access are limited (relative to other countries), yet the existence of certain restrictions upon access to given universities helps maintain a noticeable institutional pecking order, which serves as a selection mechanism. The Examiners' impression is that this phenomenon is somewhat less marked in the Western Provinces. Probably the system of aid to students in higher education is sufficient to prevent economic considerations from stopping students motivated for education at this level. The lack of financial aid at the secondary level may, however, prevent quite a few from reaching higher education.

If one remembers that, at the end of the 1950s, the secondary school sector in many of the provinces was rather poorly developed (in Quebec, almost only in private, church-related institutions), and that the tertiary sector was almost entirely represented by (formally) private institutions, the development of education in Canada appears as an enormous organisational, administrative and staffing achievement - to say nothing of the financial efforts that have been made. It is hardly an exaggeration to talk about a second great Canadian pioneering achievement.

In most of the Western industrialised countries, the educational expansion of the 1960s relied upon an experienced and smoothly running educational and administrative system. In Canada, on the contrary, the problems of expansion were multiplied as a result of a paucity of basic structures, a lack of experience in organisation and in administration and - a consequence of decentralisation - very different conditions under which reform took place. Not without justification the Economic Council of Canada spoke of education in the early 1970s as the "Ten-Billion-Dollar-Enterprise". Indeed, in the use of the term "enterprise" is to be seen an important difference between the Canadian educational system and those of most European countries. Canadian educational development has exhibited in its rapid growth a high degree of entrepreneurial risk-taking behaviour, as well as openness, flexibility and the capacity for improvisation. The comparison might be a little less favourable to Canada, only if one thinks of the spirit of co-ordination, co-operation and rationalisation that is also demanded of modern, large-scale entrepreneurs.

The Schools

The development of Canadian education has gone forward on a broad front. A *Kindergarten year*, offered on a voluntary basis (compulsory in Nova Scotia) to all five-year olds, is now widely available, especially in the urban areas. (In 1973, 96.3 per cent of five-year olds were enrolled in either kindergarten or in Grade I of the elementary school). In addition, about 30 per cent of the four-year olds are in kindergartens. However, pedagogical and staffing provision in kindergartens remains highly variable in quality.

Elementary schools

Elementary schools comprising grades I to VI, and sometimes Grades I to VIII are now permeated with the basic concepts of the ungraded school, continuous progress, open teaching-and-learning areas, and are often well supplied with equipment, books, films and other materials. They are on the way to finding the most desirable forms for the education of individual children and improving their chances of school success. Visits to elementary schools in Quebec, Ontario and the Western Provinces provided the Examiners with some most favourable impressions, although certain critical observations will be found below.

Some important new approaches are being made in the *secondary schools*. According to basic policy goals, they are open to all children and are expected to avoid elitism and selectivity.

Secondary education exhibits, along with elementary, widespread examples of excellent, interesting new educational models. These are often the result of many years of diligent planning work, involve the enthusiastic co-operation of many participants, and yield a mass of important results. It is, however, one of the more serious weaknesses of the Canadian system of education that it has so far not been possible to make these models and their results widely known, to have them evaluated and to use them as a basis for further development.

There are obvious difficulties in the Senior high school grades, with respect to the curricular and pedagogical integration of the two main courses of study : the academic,general education course and the practical-handicraft, vocational courses. In practice, it remains customary to direct the weaker and less motivated pupils toward the latter, with the result that these offerings become too unattractive for the other children.

It is a doubtful practice, too, to view the practical courses more as "busy work" for children, rather than as a basic, vocational training of real value to the children.

There may be a connection between this latter failing and the fact that the percentage of the population above compulsory schooling age attending school seems to have declined slightly in the latest years for which data are available (see Table 3). This is occurring in spite of the many efforts by the responsible educational policy-makers to find new alternative educational routes for this group of young people.

Table 3

PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION AGED 15 TO 17 YEARS
ATTENDING SCHOOL, SELECTED YEARS

	15 years		16 years		17 years	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1961-62	88.9	87.1	70.0	67.2	50.8	41.5
1966-67	94.6	91.3	83.4	80.7	63.2	55.1
1971-72	95.9	95.8	87.6	87.1	66.6	63.1
1972-73	95.5	96.0	86.2	86.9	66.1	62.7

Note : Most Provinces mandate school attendance until age 16.
Some permit leaving after 15 years of age.

University and community college

Clearly the greatest and most expensive achievements during the last 15 years have been in the tertiary (post-secondary) sector. The universities and community colleges provide an extended network of post-secondary institutions. There are 66 universities chartered (formal and informal joint operating arrangements reduce the effective number of institutions to about 40) and 146 community colleges (many with satellite campuses). The practical, work-oriented training courses of the community colleges especially are enjoying a growing popularity. Enrolment figures in both the university and non-university sectors continue to rise though generally at a lower rate in the former sector. It may be worth noting though, that the figures given in Table 4 imply that full-time enrolments in universities grew almost as fast (5.7 per cent) between 1974-75 and 1975-76 as did full-time enrolments in the non-university sector (6.0 per cent). Recently it has been observed that in some Provinces more university students switch to colleges than college students proceed on to the universities. Moreover, increasingly, high school graduates decide immediately to opt for a college training. Older, so-called mature students are to be found in growing numbers, both in university and non-university institutions, with a first - or further - qualification.

The numerous new buildings of the post-secondary sector seen by the Examiners were impressive, and their furnishing and equipment were on a generous scale. But, judged from the viewpoint of social policy, this complex, variegated, community-based and open-access tertiary educational sector means more than just an external adornment of Canada's physical landscape. The scale of post-secondary provision exemplifies the massive commitment being made to the educational base of an open, democratic society - a commitment that goes well beyond that of most of the other OECD Member countries.

Table 4

POST-SECONDARY ENROLMENTS, FULL- AND PART-TIME

1970-71 to 1975-76

	Non-university institutions		Universities	
	Full-Time	Part-Time	Full-Time	Part-Time
1970-71	166,079	Not available	309,469	156,576
1971-72	173,779	"	323,026	155,387
1972-73	190,954	"	321,417	153,772
1973-74^P	201,920	"	332,289	161,936
1974-75^P	211,260	"	350,960	167,990
1975-76^E	220,610	"	363,360	176,470

^{P} : Preliminary ^{E} : Estimated

Adult education

The open nature of the tertiary sector in most Provinces and of its two most important constituent parts, the universities and the community colleges, is enhanced by the growing number of part-time and mature students, through the annexation and incorporation of all kinds of offerings, described nowadays as adult education, continuing or further education, all summarised under the slogan "lifelong learning". Without doubt, educational institutions in Canada appear to have been exceptionally successful in establishing programmes that attract adults and meet some of their needs. This must be seen, however, against the background of a rapidly expanding educational system that has caused large gaps in educational levels to open between the different age groups.

The mode of adult education also appears to be a reflection of certification-orientated institutional training. Adult education has generally followed the model set by the established educational institutions, leaving little room for more flexible organisational arrangements directly orientated towards individual, personal needs. Public financial support of adult education is biased towards development of specific manpower skills and the earning of established formal school certificates and this reinforces the dominant position of the traditional institutions in this field. None of these comments should, however, be taken to deny the fact that the financial arrangements making it profitable for regular educational institutions to expand in the direction of part-time adult education have proved effective in promoting broad opportunities and participation.

Libraries, museums, and general cultural and artistic provisions are to be noted as supplementary, non-school public institutions. In spite of many elements of progress (especially in the public library field), the Examiners must still agree with the criticisms levelled by cultural organisations in Canada that, in this sector, too little has been done.

Major Problems

Although the Examiners' final judgement of the expansion of Canadian education is definitely and overwhelmingly positive, their duty is to point out problem areas and difficulties. These are, in general, the result of rapid, sometimes even impetuous quantitative growth ; they are also the result of those complicated conditions of development referred to in the Introduction.

- The Examiners have identified a number of problems that appear to be of major importance for the future development of education in Canada. They are presented at this point in rather summary fashion, and they are dealt with more extensively in the succeeding chapters of this Report.

- The problem of the under-privileged groups : The schools as presently organised do not seem to be the best possible instruments for providing under-privileged groups with equal opportunities. Should the schools be changed and, if so, how is this to be done ? and at what level of costs ? Should the goal of equality of opportunity be at least temporarily abandoned, becaused it is not feasible ; or should other broader approaches be tried, in which the school will not be the only institution involved ?

- The problem of the status of manual work : Should the school tackle more directly and forcefully one problem which has deep cultural and social implications and which seems to be at the root of social stratification among and within schools, as well as being one basic cause for the rejection of socially under-privileged children ? Are Canadians ready to tackle the problem of developing a "new humanism" which would encompass manual work, the fine and liberal arts, technology and science, integrating these major strands of human activity into a new synthesis ? And what role should the schools play in this task ?

- The problem of providing full educational opportunities to handicapped children, a task that has, with a few honourable exceptions, been grievously neglected in Canada.

- The problem of the quality of education. This seems to have become a public issue precisely because of the high costs that have had to be paid to ensure equality of access : taxpayers everywhere want assurance that what appears to them to be extraordinarily generous levels of school financing are yielding commensurate returns. But, in fact, the problem of quality is of fundamental importance, more because the term "quality" has a very different meaning in the new complex permissive schools than it did in the uni-dimensional educational institutions of the past. Now, the term has taken on connotations of the quality of human relations and the supportive quality of the school environment for achievement, expression and creativity. To meet the challenge of "quality", thus defined, will partly involve training for the practice of new social skills, interpersonal relationships and modes of group action in a context of individualised learning. It will also involve appearance of the traditional threats, discipline and external sanctions of the school. Canadian schools must begin to face this problem, even if the precise ways to tackle it have nowhere been well defined.

- The problem of the relationships of the school to the community, of its development as a cultural centre and as the leadership element in adult education. Is it better to let different, perhaps conflicting, initiatives develop that will motivate people more ; or should one try to take a broader comprehensive approach with the school playing a leadership role ? Canadian education is already facing these problems well ahead of most European countries.

- The problem of local involvement in decision-making, which is often posed (incorrectly in the Examiners' view) as a choice between "centralisation" and "decentralisation", or provincial authorities versus the local school boards.

- The problem of defining goals for education that fit a vision of the national interest, and of devising mechanisms to assist in the process of definition and implementation, in a national framework. During the beginning stages of a great social movement, such as the massive re-development of an educational system, a pragmatic approach may permit a great variety of different forms of progress and results to be achieved (as the Examiners observed again and again in Canada). Yet, in the longer run, it will certainly be necessary to direct the upsurge of change in the direction of a co-operatively planned path, for there are signs that the impetus of reform is slackening, even in Canada. The sooner a workable path toward stating definite goals is found, the sooner acceptable criteria for making reform decisions will be discovered, and the better the prospects will be for the further development of the Canadian educational system.

Although a great deal of optimism persists and pragmatically relaxed attitudes abound, the educational policy climate has changed fundamentally in the last few years. The reformers who sailed gaily ahead (and who spent money freely) for the past 20 years, now find that the wind is coming from a decidedly less favourable direction. The veering in public and government opinion is not as sharp as in many other countries, but it is distinctly present. Everywhere the talk is about economies, and restrictive measures have become common. Care is taken not to further anger unwilling taxpayers ; the great enthusiasm of the 1960s is muted ; and new public tasks are coming to the fore (together with their financial demands) in place of education.

In this new climate, a quite proper sense of optimism about the medium and longer term future of education in Canada is tempered by a realistic appraisal of future tasks and possibilities.

III. REALISATION OF EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

All over the world, the school reform movements of the last 15 years have taken their point of departure from the demand for equality of educational opportunity for all children, irrespective of their origin, locality, race or sex. The succession of efforts that has been made to serve this goal may be divided into three phases.

Three phases

In the first phase, it was hoped that equality of educational opportunity could be achieved by affording children free access to all schools in their localities. The belief was that this approach would suffice to open to all children - even those from the submerged social groups - access to schools that would lead on to further opportunities, and that this would be the way to remove inequalities and injustices. In most countries, these hopes were not realised. Most of these children were not able to succeed in the traditional programmes of the schools, or showed themselves so little interested in them that they dropped out at the end of the period of compulsory schooling, or sometimes even earlier.

After it had become evident that, wherever it had been tried, wider access to schooling would not alone guarantee equality of educational opportunity, a beginning was made to understand the exceptionally complex causes of inequality and to try remedial measures through compensatory education.

Emphasis on pre-school education came also in this second phase, although much of the drive to establish pre-school provision derived from the desire to free women for work in the labour market. Moreover, there is no clear evidence that pre-school education, as usually organised and practised, promotes equality.

In addition, the second phase saw the introduction of more practice-oriented courses, which certainly did help produce a perceptible decline in the number of dropouts, especially when used in conjunction with adequate counselling and appropriate changes in teaching methods, curriculum materials, and the like.

However, even the most comprehensive programme of in-school efforts has not alone sufficed to eliminate the many-sided forms of disadvantage and inequality of opportunity that children experience. Thus began the third, and certainly most difficult phase. The attempt was made to overcome the important external causes for school failure by providing within the school an array of specific social, health and welfare measures. Even more important has been the recognition that the right to equality of educational opportunity should not remain confined to the short period of childhood and youth, but should be a lifelong, recurrent principle, aimed at catching up on lost chances, and at opening up new opportunities.

The precondition for this policy is an open educational system that has eliminated institutions and curricula that are dead-ends. It is a system that avoids writing children off as failures and that encourages "drop-in" at all post-compulsory ages.

Canadian education policy has completed the first two phases of this development, having made a vast investment of material and intellectual resources, and is now embarked on the third. As a result, Canadian education has changed from following a basically selective principle of operation to one of trying to aid young people to develop their knowledge and skills in ways that differ according to their needs and capacities. It cannot be doubted that the results have been better than in many European countries. But that the efforts require still further improvement is the firm opinion of all knowledgeable ovservers. The Examiners are of the same opinion.

While recognising the limitations imposed upon them by the shortness of the four weeks of their visit to Canada, the Examiners have paid special attention to the question : how far and by what means can the principle of equal educational opportunity be realised in Canadian educational practice ?

In trying to achieve equality of educational opportunity, Canada faces a number of specific difficulties, not shared by most other countries in either severity or extent : geographical distances, firmly established and widespread decentralisation of responsibility, strong regional disparities, and a multiplicity of cultural and linguistic minorities. These difficulties are not to be underestimated and must be taken into account.

In addition, any discussion of inequality of educational opportunity must be conducted in the context of inequalities in economic circumstances and political influence. The relationship between inequalities in the school and inequalities in society is often direct and exceptionally difficult to eliminate, no less so in Canada than in other countries. The Examiners wish to avoid giving the impression that they believe that the problems of broad societal inequalities can be fundamentally solved by school-related measures only, though there is no doubt that they can often be palliated somewhat by educational opportunities. It complicates matters, too, to recognise that many of the school-related practices that reinforce societal inequalities have occurred and endure precisely because they serve certain economic and political interests. All the good will in the world among educators will not then suffice to eradicate such practices, for that requires a more profound change in the distribution of power in society and the goals which power is made to serve.

An overview

Whatever may be their disagreements on other matters, all those working in education in Canada appear to agree on the basic requirements necessary for an educational system to provide equality of educational opportunity. They agree upon a common school system for all children, made up of a one-year voluntary kindergarten, a six - or sometimes eight-year elementary school, and a (normally) two-stage secondary school. Compulsory education through 16 years of age is considered the norm. This provides for ten or eleven years of compulsory education. In addition, as many children as possible should be assisted to complete the secondary school with a diploma, by careful attention to pedagogy, curriculum practices, counselling needs, and the like.(The rates of retention from Grade II to Grade XII have risen from 36 per cent in 1961 to 71 per cent in 1972).

An equally open and broadly accessible tertiary sector is attached to the secondary school. During the last 15 years, alongside the traditional university institutions, 146 community colleges have been established, offering new, well-attended practice-oriented courses of study. Both the universities and non-university institutions seek to attract part-time and mature students. In addition, there are offerings of self-study programmes, summer courses and countless further possibilities for general and vocational further education, in the form of credit and non-credit courses.

This entire structure receives wide publicity and serves the cause of the equality of educational opportunity, from kindergarten to adult education.

A number of comments on each stage of the system are in order. The importance of pre-school education for the moral, physical and creative development of children is fully recognised in Canada. With some few exceptions, the network of public and/or private kindergartens is such that most five-year olds can find a place, if their parents so desire. (See page 32 above).

The pedagogy of the kindergarten follows to a great extent English and United States models : individual provision and promotion, social learning, creative activity, strengthening acquaintance with nature and the environment. On occasion, immersion courses in French (or English) adapted to young children's abilities are also offered. Such additional measures as, for example, the Alberta Early Childhood Services Plan seem to the Examiners to merit widespread copying, as they promise to bring about the necessary co-operative activity of kindergarten, parental home, and social and health services.

The usual kindergarten day for a child is 2 1/2 hours (which permits each kindergarten to provide for two, or sometimes three, groups). This allotment of time seems to be too short to fulfil all the tasks prescribed for pre-schooling without seriously overloading the children. On the other hand, 2 1/2 hours is too long a period if it is to be used simply for pre-school instruction. Finally, for working mothers it is inconvenient to have their children looked after for this short time each day. The Examiners are of the opinion that provision beyond the usual 2 1/2 hours a day should be available for those parents who desire it.

In addition, it appears to the Examiners that the early recognition and treatment of learning handicaps or disabilities is still not given sufficient attention.

After the kindergarten, the curricular and pedagogical arrangements of the elementary school have an important role to play in the elimination of deficits and the achievement of equality of educational opportunity. The formative years should be child-oriented and intensively used.In this respect everywhere in Canada great efforts are being made and some noteworthy results have been achieved, especially in comparison with the state of affairs 15 to 20 years ago.

The forms that have been chosen are numerous. The principles and practice of non-grading, continuous progress, and open-area classrooms and team-teaching are in evidence, as is the promotion of independent learning through new curricula. In the elementary schools they visited, the Examiners were often impressed by a prevailing friendly and relaxed atmosphere, conducive to the development in children of powers of individual initiative, as well as skills in co-operation without anxiety and pressure. The structuring of work in the elementary school became even more exemplary when it represented clear planning and evaluatory goals established as a result of the co-operative work of the teachers. Also, when parents are drawn closely into the work of the schools (as the Examiners saw, for example, in Ontario), and when children are given a share in exercising initiative, participating in decisions, and in self-evaluation (as was seen, for example, in Quebec), important models for imitation elsewhere have been developed.

Many schools are trying, with the best of intentions, to improve the welfare of their children by bringing in a host of specialists. This produces no new disadvantages as long as it does not contradict the young child's needs for belonging and for a stable reverent person ; and as long as it does not disperse the general responsibility for his progress among a multitude of specialists-in-detail who fail to work together for his benefit. Certain tendencies in this direction should not be overlooked. (1)

Naturally, the Examiners heard some voices of scepticism concerning the new elementary school methods. It is certainly true that general evaluation of the experiences to date, concerted effort in the improvement of teachers' skills, and the fullest development of cooperative work with parents are all lacking. We met teachers who were not willing or able to come to terms with the new approaches. We met parents who could not understand why their children should learn more than, or something other than, the basic skills. Now and again, the opinion was expressed that continuous progress overburdened the less talented child. We heard complaints from school trustees that the financial demands made by the new elementary school were impossible to fulfil. None of these objections should be under-estimated. But in no way should they be allowed to lead back to rigid course prescriptions, classes insulated from each other behind closed doors, and children being made to repeat entire years. None of these relics of the selective school should be allowed to reappear, for they work mostly to the disadvantage of the socially handicapped or disadvantaged child.

Educators and parents everywhere recognise the problems of the secondary school, which has to devote very large quantities of time and energy trying to meet the demand for equality of educational opportunity, retaining children with widely disparate levels of talent and inclination through and beyond the period of compulsory schooling, and enabling them to complete high school successfully.

The difficulties appear first with the disadvantages of large schools of 1,500 pupils and more. The size is a result of the effort to offer a broad array of courses. But some schools often seem to be too large for pupils to obtain an overview of their education, for teachers to work together effectively, and for both to conduct decent interpersonal relations. If the result is that children take a somewhat aimless smattering of courses, the question must be raised of the value of what the Examiners heard termed as a "supermarket" style approach to education. (2)

Moreover, doubts have grown in Canada in the past few years about the wisdom of keeping young people in school at any cost, if the

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1) These points are developed more fully in Appendix B.

2) But see also Appendix B, where doubt is cast upon the analogy of a supermarket as fitting the organisation of secondary education in Canada.

schools are clearly unable to offer them an acceptable curriculum. This poses the question of alternative ways of offering education : in vocational schools, or in the form of varied, freely accessible opportunities to engage in further education. The Examiners were able to acquaint themselves with numerous alternative possibilities, which could certainly be expected to remove much of the opprobrium usually associated with dropout. The principle of lifelong educational opportunities makes possible (and necessary) a quite new interpretation of what constitutes school "success" and what constitutes "failure".

With reference to the improvement of educational opportunities, the present quality of practical and vocational courses in high schools is not generally adequate, even if one is thinking only of a well-grounded preparation for a vocation. Practical courses often turn out to be only an appendage, perhaps even a basement department, of the academic high school. Such courses generally have a solely practical orientation : a theoretical, reflective approach to technology seems to be excluded. The content of courses is not deep, and the term"pre-vocational activity" is often used. On occasion, these vocational activities are not given credit ; they are generally seen as fitted for those pupils who are weaker in the "academics". In Quebec, the fact of being placed in the high school vocational stream (long or short course) has, until recently, even precluded enrolment in the Collège d'Enseignement Général et Professionel (CEGEP) after secondary education.

For these reasons, the comprehensive (1) school appears to be a general school that has had attached to it an appendage (the so-called industrial or vocational courses, varying in number according to the particular Province and the particular school). The composite school has not been conceived as a school that closely integrates technical and humanistic materials in its goals, in order to transmit the basis for a new culture - which, in the Examiners' view, is its central mission.

In the light of this situation, the establishment of separate vocational-technical schools, mainly for 16-19 year old students (as they were seen by the Examiners in Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, and Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, for example), is on occasion to be welcomed, especially if they are not used to shunt aside the more difficult and less academically talented high school students. They need also to ensure that, alongside the vocational courses, there is a generous portion of general education provided. Moreover, pupils who are interested should be able to obtain an equivalent high school diploma, if necessary with the help of supplementary courses. And, with all this, the vocational schools should in no way contribute to the sacrifice of the principle of the comprehensive school.

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1) In Canada, the comprehensive secondary schools are termed "composite", or "polyvalente".

In fact, such vocational schools should be valued in the context of their relationship to the development of composite or comprehensive schools, and this could have practical meaning. An example would be broader recognition of academic success when it is achieved by vocational-technical schools ; or, a second example, a determination that the large resources going into a few expensive vocational-technical schools would be much more than matched by additional resources needed for the improvement of the composite schools.

In practice, the vocational schools, subsisting on the margin of the comprehensive system, are having to face a surge of requests for admission. They tend to admit only those who give promise of succeeding in the training course chosen. These applicants are either students who could not find an appropriate education in a composite school, or adults.

On the other hand, dropouts are numerous before the last year of the composite secondary school. One cannot flatly claim, then, that the secondary school system has succeeded in reaching its goal : offering to all youngsters from twelve to 17-18 years of age an education fitted to their needs and permitting them to develop and broaden themselves by practising an array of activities tailored to their different talents and temperaments, tastes and aptitudes.

Pedagogical innovations

An important pedagogical tool for the individualisation of school learning and for dealing with different levels of talent and interest is the principle of continuous progress. In many Canadian schools this principle has entirely or partially superseded the concepts of age-grouped classes, promotion, and retention in grade. Instead, the length of schooling until graduation from high school depends upon the accumulation of the necessary number of credits. In the final development, external graduating examinations have been mostly abolished, and admission to the universities and community colleges left to these institutions themselves.

From the point of view of educational policy, the principle of continuous progress can be an important aid in attenuating the school effects of most socio-economic disparities. Whenever the result is that individual achievement is encouraged, without pressures of time and external sanctions, and if application of the principle of continuous progress can guarantee a well-defined corpus of general education for all, then the school will have achieved a decisive step forward in the task of equalising opportunities. Here, as elsewhere, the need for evaluation of experience and the exchange of information is urgent.

The practice of "flexibility" has a potentially dark, as well as a light, side. Well equipped schools clearly have a variety of possibilities for "adapting programmes to pupils". The opportunities for differentiated treatment of individual children are to be appreciated. Such reservations as the Examiners have are related to the possible effects of such individualised measures on the future educational development of the children. "Adaptation of programmes to pupils", especially when it is based on incompletely understood diagnostic instruments, may easily build in a form of selection into even the primary school, with mostly irreversible effects on the development of individual pupils.

In many instances in Canada the form of adaptation looks suspiciously like traditional streaming in ability groups, already from Grade I. The choices made for pupils, at least at the elementary level, appear primarily to be regarded as a matter for decision by "pedagogical experts", with only limited possibilities for parental participation. At the secondary level, choices of direction may be more susceptible to influence by individual pupils and parents, though the "advice" of teachers probably counts heavily at this level, too, and may be decisive in terms of relegating children to vocational streams at an astonishingly early stage. In spite of those doubts, however, the Examiners feel that the achievement of a genuine range or choice must be acknowledged, including the fact that relatively open access to further education may to some extent reduce any bad effects of early streaming.

It is, of course, entirely probable that the schools visited by the Examiners have been above average in terms of pedagogical practices. Yet it seems reasonable to conclude that the system has come far in the direction of a reasonable openness in the mode of teaching and provision of a considerable variety of choice options. These characteristics were apparent in all the Provinces visited. Some of the "show" schools did seem to be almost extravagantly endowed with open space, which is neither necessary for, nor a guarantee of "openness" in pedagogical terms. (1) The Examiners do conclude, however, that new schools are built in a way that permits a considerable amount of flexibility. When properly used they should provide a good working situation for teachers and pupils.

The Examiners have not been able to get a clear picture of the relative allocation of resources within schools to children with

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1) The necessity to evaluate curricula, programmes, achievement results and new organisational forms was underlined everywhere. The attempts to develop appropriate evaluatory instruments have had varied success. The results that have been obtained so far with them are clearly not satisfactory. One promising example of new developments seems to be the service for Cooperative Evaluation of school systems provided by the Ontario Ministry of Education.

special difficulties, or simply of below average performance. There is still a distinct possibility that "flexibility" and "adapting programmes to pupils" are slogans to cover devoting the best teaching resources to the more gifted children. Furthermore, even in the schools visited, flexibility does not go beyond options *within* each grade. Although formal repetition of grades is said to be rare, the programmes for individual development of groups of children are categorised as pertaining to specific grades, even to the extent that a child may be regarded as staying in the same grade for several years. It is an open question to what extent this "open" and "flexible" system really solves the key problem of the more traditionally organised school.

Thus, in spite of many difficulties (that are, of course, not unique to Canada), the Canadian form of high school (comprehensive/composite/*polyvalente*) is in principle unopposed within Canada - unlike the opposition that the comprehensive principle has had to face in other countries. The Examiners are convinced that all the difficulties that remain can be dealt with, given carefully planned work and patient co-operation among teachers, researchers and administrators. A beginning has already been made and is evident in the numerous proposals extant for improving the quality of education. This process can be helped forward greatly by the evaluation of high schools that provide examples of "best practice", and dissemination of knowledge about them.

Access to post-secondary education

As already remarked, entry to post-secondary education has been widely opened to new groups of all ages in the population by the abolition of Province-wide examinations. There is an obvious symbolic meaning when Provinces offer tuition-free admission to higher education to its senior citizens : the universities and community colleges wish to be regarded as more than places for research, teaching and vocational preparation. Within and through them, the principle of equality of educational opportunity is to be actualised, in the form of lifelong educational availability, even though from declared political intention to full realisation in practice there is certainly a long road to travel, as was freely acknowledged by all the representatives of the tertiary institutions in their discussions with the Examiners.

The number of part-time students (working towards degrees or for credit) at the universities rose from 86,000 in 1966 to 178,000 in 1975, that is, more than doubled in less than ten years, and the number of mature students is also estimated to have multiplied many times over. It is estimated that the total number of part-time students in continuing education courses in Canada in 1973-74 was over 1.3 million persons, or more than 5 per cent of the entire population of the country (see Table 5).

In an attempt to improve accessibility to higher education opportunities for young people who would otherwise find it difficult to finance their studies, the Provinces and the Federal Government have developed a series of loan and outright (non-repayable) grant programmes. The Federal loan plan began in 1964 with loans totalling \$ 26 million made to 42,000 students ; in 1972-73, loans totalling \$ 100 million were made to about 122,000 students. Non-repayable grants from Federal sources to students amounted to \$ 186 million in 1972-73. Provincial provisions for student aid vary widely.

Table 5

NUMBER OF PART-TIME STUDENTS
BY TYPE OF STUDY
IN CONTINUING EDUCATION COURSES
IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, 1973-1974 (In Thousands)

	Credit	Non-Credit	Total
School Boards and Departments of Education(1)	196.4	365.0	561.4
Post-Secondary Non-University (2)	141.9	142.7	284.6
University	280.0	206.8	486.8
Total	618.3	714.5	1,332.8

(1) Includes provincial correspondence schools.
(2) Includes public trade and vocational centres, adult retraining centres, institutes of technology, CEGEPs, Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (CAATs), and community colleges. (Trade level courses and post-secondary non-university courses are represented in these figures.)

The proportion of the student body in receipt of Federal loans for study has fallen in recent years from 38 per cent to 35 per cent. In general, part-time students are not eligible for aid, though discussions were proceeding at the time of the Examiners' visit to change this, at least as far as Federal loan eligibility is concerned.

Since 1961, Canadian income tax law has permitted students to deduct tuition from their income, for the purposes of computing their taxable income. Since 1972, education expenses up to \$ 50 a month have been deductible also. It is estimated that these two provisions cost the Treasury about \$ 84 million in 1972. Since the dollar value of the deduction privilege is higher for those in the higher income tax brackets, the deduction provisions are not an efficient way of allocating tax receipts to assist lower income persons to attend college or university.

It is not presently possible to report whether or not the array of student financial aid provisions has, in fact, widened access to higher education for students coming from the lower half of the family income range. The Examiners understand that an inquiry on this point is presently underway. The data presented in Table 6 for 1968-69 would indicate that Canada is probably no exception to the rule that children from the upper half of the family income range are represented in the student body disproportionately to their numbers in the total population.

The noteworthy developments in the field of community colleges, where 146 have been established, constitute evidence of the vigorous policy measures taken to improve educational opportunities. Each province has developed its own variant on these programmes. Community college enrolment has expanded rapidly : 53,000 in 1961, 80,000 in 1966, and 239,000 in 1975. In 1961, full-time university enrolments were 2 1/2 times as large as full-time college enrolments ; in 1975 they are estimated to be only 1 1/2 times as large. It is expected that community college enrolments will continue to grow, but probably in the future at a rate only slightly higher than that of the universities.

Community college programmes lead to vocational training qualifications in courses of one to four years in length. The opportunities for transfer to universities vary from Province to Province. Access to community colleges is promoted by their wide dispersion over the length and breadth of the country. The principle that guides them is that every young person shall have tertiary education available to him, in his locality. Even with respect to the social origin of community college students, a definite breakthrough has been achieved. A much higher fraction of the student body comes from the lower half of the family income range than is the case for the universities' enrolment (see Table 6).

It should be borne in mind that, with the prevailing emphasis on general subjects in secondary schools, vocational training of the kind often found at the secondary level in some other countries (for example, West Germany, France, the United States and the Soviet Union) has to a considerable extent been pushed upwards in Canada to what is formally a post-secondary level. Thus, the community colleges often serve the same functions as secondary vocational schools do elsewhere. This partly explains both the social composition of their student body and the difficulties that are met when, as in some Provinces, attempts are made to develop such community colleges into viable alternatives to the universities.

Table 6

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY INCOME OF POST-SECONDARY STUDENTS BY LEVEL OF STUDY, 1968-69

Family Income Group	University Graduate	University Undergraduate	Community Colleges and CEGEPs	TOTAL
	%	%	%	%
Less than $ 2,000	1.4	1.0	0.9	1.0
2,000 - 2,999	5.1	4.1	4.3	4.2
3,000 - 3,999	6.7	4.9	6.3	5.2
4,000 - 4,999	4.8	6.2	8.8	6.5
5,000 - 6,999	21.1	20.7	29.7	22.0
7,000 - 9,999	21.7	24.6	27.0	24.8
10,000 and over	39.2	38.5	23.0	36.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median family income	$ 8,502	$ 8,600	$ 7,003	$ 8,349

Source : Statistics Canada

The Province of Quebec has produced the most far-reaching development of a tertiary educational system based on the principle of equality of opportunity in a common school system. This has been done via the instrumentality of the Collèges d'Enseignement Général et Professionel (CEGEP). They are built on the basis of the eleven-year école polyvalente, and lead in a two-year course to the university, or in a third, finishing year course to a professional qualification. In a few years 32 CEGEPs (plus satellites) have been established to serve the approximately 6 million inhabitants of Quebec. They have been established on the principles laid down in the Parent Commission Report (Volume IV), expressing the Commission's conviction that the traditional differentiation im the value of academic compared with vocational education would only be overcome when the two forms of study were kept together for as long as possible, with students of both curricula housed under one roof, and educated in as integrated a manner as possible. Official estimates for 1974-75 place the proportion of the population aged 17 to 19 years attending CEGEPs at 23.8 per cent.

It is not surprising to the Examiners that the implementation in so few years of the bold idea of a "comprehensive" college has met with a good deal of friction and criticism. One can hope, however, that those responsible for educational policy and the teachers and students in the CEGEPs will succeed in overcoming the difficulties that have appeared. The CEGEP is an educational and socio-political model of the highest international importance. Abandonment of this achievement now would mean a defeat carrying unfortunate consequences not only for Canada, but for many other countries.

A further variant of the community college has developed, particularly in Saskatchewan, though also elsewhere. In Saskatchewan, the main task of the community colleges is viewed as the satisfaction of local educational needs and their offering of vocational, personal and social further educational opportunities - all the way from the fine arts to tractor-driving. The credit-courses of these community colleges and preparation for university-level work, play a subordinate role. The manner in which information and the offerings are brought to the attention of the population exhibits variety, spontaneity and imagination.

Regional inequalities

The democratic right of the citizen to equality of educational opportunity is neither confined to nor fulfilled entirely within an educational system. There is also the question of regionally equivalent and regionally equally-distributed educational offerings - a task that is exceptionally difficult to fulfil in Canada. The fact is that provincial autonomy in the educational sphere, and far-reaching decentralisation within each province, have resulted in significant differences in the material and staffing levels of the schools. Toleration of disparities that are very large can greatly hinder or even damage educational opportunities. The Examiners have gained the impression that local and regional disparities are certainly recognised. Indeed, recognition of these disparities has led to the development of a far-reaching system of grants from the federal government to the provinces, in an attempt to meliorate differences in the fiscal capacity of different regions (see Appendix E). Within the provinces, too, there are fiscal devices established to moderate the differences in wealth and income of different localities. In the discussion that follows the focus is upon average disparities across the provinces. However, the Examiners gained the impression (though they received no firm evidence) that disparities within each province are considerable, and may even be more striking than those existing among the provincial averages.

Inter-Provincial differences are clearly marked in the differences in the retention rates in schools : the proportion of pupils who remained in school until Grade XII, as a proportion of Grade II enrolment varies from 58 per cent in the Atlantic Provinces to 69 per cent in Ontario, and 75 per cent in the Western Provinces. The differences in financial resources used per pupil are another index : in 1972, average expenditures of school boards per school pupil in regular public schools were as follows :

Atlantic Provinces	$ 586
Western Provinces	853
Quebec Province	839
Ontario	972
Canada	868

Table 7 provides figures for 1969-70 and 1971-72 as well as for 1972-73 on per pupil expenditures by region and for Canada. In addition, expenditures including those made by departments (ministries) of education are shown. For universities, the average expenditure per full-time student, 1970 to 1973, was :

	1970	1971	1972	1973
Atlantic Provinces	$ 3,019	$ 3,371	$ 3,708	$ 4,145
Western Provinces	3,643	4,013	4,419	4,756
Quebec	4,135	4,506	4,765	5,131
Ontario	4,365	4,472	4,536	4,729
Canada	3,955	4,228	4,461	4,758

Table 7

EXPENDITURES PER PUPIL OF ENROLMENT IN REGULAR PUBLIC SCHOOLS, CANADA AND REGIONS

1969-1970, 1971-1972 and 1972-1973

	1969-1970		1971-1972		1972-1973	
	Of school boards only	Including department services	Of school boards only	Including department services	Of school boards only	Including department services
Provinces :						
Atlantic	$ 387	$ 507	$ 511	$ 647	$ 586	$ 711
Quebec	655	680	767	953	839	973
Ontario	734	824	896	971	972	1,037
Western	652	700	774	817	853	893
Canada	655	723	791	898	868	955

Notes : The figures overstate expenditures per pupil to some extent because school board expenditures include amounts spent for various evening programmes. The figures for Canada include figures for Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Table 8

EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION PER FULL-TIME STUDENT (ALL LEVELS), CANADA AND PROVINCES, 1971-1974

	1971	1972	1973	1974
Canada	$ 1,312	$ 1,376	$ 1,523	$ 1,701
Newfoundland	886	962	1,134	1,289
Prince Edward Island	1,076	1,231	1,411	1,626
New Brunswick	1,145	1,156	1,311	1,582
Nova Scotia	1,055	1,164	1,282	1,458
Quebec	1,288	1,331	1,524	1,740
Ontario	1,432	1,496	1,603	1,737
Manitoba	1,240	1,331	1,526	1,705
Saskatchewan	1,108	1,187	1,345	1,516
Alberta	1,340	1,428	1,563	1,707
British Columbia	1,161	1,232	1,377	1,598
Territories and undistributed	..	..	..	..

For non-university tertiary institutions, the corresponding figures in 1970 to 1973 were :

	1970	1971	1972	1973
Quebec	$ 1,624	$ 1,927	$ 1,691	$ 1,765
Atlantic Provinces	2,209	2,412	2,801	2,889
Ontario	2,277	2,745	2,832	3,520
Western Provinces	1,805	1,985	2,339	2,727
Canada	1,898	2,196	2,155	2,443

Table 8 provides data on expenditures in each Province for education per full-time student (at all levels), 1971-1974. The interprovincial disparities appear to have been closed a little, but they are still considerable (cf. Newfoundland's expenditures of $ 1,289 per student in 1974, with Ontario's $ 1,737 and Quebec's $ 1,740). Proportions of students, as percentages of the 18-24 year old population, were as follows in 1972-73 :

Atlantic Provinces	15.1 per cent
Western Provinces	16.3
Quebec Province	20.5
Ontario	19.2
Canada	18.4

These are all quite weighty differences, and certainly not to be ignored, in view of the goal of equal educational opportunities. Indeed, the Federal government has made efforts during the past decade to equalise the tax resources available to provincial authorities for school purposes. (1) In 1973, the amounts transferred for school tax equalisation alone totalled $ 160 million.

To what extent, and whether, federal transfers can effect the elimination of serious disparities of financial resources and hence educational provision is partly a question of the continued effort to improve the fiscal transfer instruments used, and partly a question of the priority placed upon educational provision in each province, relative to provision of other provincial services.

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1) The resulting increases in transfer payments to the provinces are, however, totally unconditional as to the purpose for which they may be spent.

IV. MINORITY GROUPS AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

Alongside the measures so far discussed for a general equalisation of educational opportunity, the special problems of specific minority groups among the pupils need attention.

In this chapter, we deal with the five most important groups :

- children with different types of handicap ;
- native populations, and other under-privileged groups ;
- linguistic and cultural minorities ;
- highly talented and gifted children ;
- females in post-secondary education.

The handicapped

The Examiners heard a steady refrain of criticism about the inadequate provisions for handicapped children. The measures undertaken so far to help this not inconsiderable number of children (estimated at between 5 per cent and 10 per cent of all pupils) were deemed inadequate by teachers, parents and the public.

The Examiners drew the conclusion that, only after voluminous (and usually private) investigations and revelations, and sometimes even vigorous attacks in public, did the responsible public authorities undertake the necessary planning and take some measures commensurate with the problem.

The Examiners agree completely with the official goal expressed in a number of provinces, that handicapped children should be retained in the regular, common school as long as possible, and whenever possible.

However, most provinces fall far short of adequate provision in public schools for handicapped children. The result is that, typically, these children must either be sent to expensive private institutions (with the parents bearing all or most of the costs), or the children are simply kept at home (which is quite legal). Thus, the key pressing issue is, in reality, not integration in regular schools or special provision, but adequate provision for handicapped children somewhere.

Most school administrations de not seem to be aware of the extent to which very large infusions of resources are needed within the schools for the proper treatment of handicapped children. In particular, without such resources, retaining handicapped children in regular schools will most likely produce severe difficulties for the children, especially if :

- the regular teachers are not in a position to recognize handicaps, and to undertake remedial action in less severe cases;
- the use of numerous specialists produces effective isolation of the children under their care from non-handicapped children and from children with other forms of handicaps;
- locally based arrangements do not in fact suffice to provide the best possible aid for the child.

In such circumstances the goal of integrating handicapped pupils in ordinary schools may simply lead to a worsening of their position.

In general, one can say, *special schools* are necessary not only for the blind, the deaf, and the dumb, at least for the elementary school years (and here the developments of the last few years have been good), but also for children with severe or multiple learning disabilities. These children certainly cannot receive the necessary, carefully monitored care they need, except in special schools. (1)

There is hardly an area in which *lack of co-operation* among the various levels of government, and between professionals and parents, produces such harmful results as in the case of the handicapped child, whether the handicaps are concerned directly with learning difficulties, or with psychological or physical problems. This life-chances of these children depend so decisively on the early recognition and proper treatment of their difficulties, that the responsible authorities should delay no longer in removing the obvious deficiencies in provision. (2)

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1) Inspection of such a school in Winnipeg underlined the justification for these schools, although here, too, resources were less than adequate.
Accordingly, not only were complaints voiced that few such special elementary schools exist, but also a lack of sufficient specially trained staff was evident (apart from the principal, none of the teachers and auxiliary personnel had a special training in this field !). In consequence, there was little possibility of sending out staff to work on individual cases in the regular schools.

2) Attention is directed to the thorough and excellently argued report, *One Million Children : A National Study of Canadian Children with Emotional and Learning Disorders*, issued by the Commission on Emotional and Learning Disorders in Children (Toronto : CELDIC, 1970) ; and to a recent book by Nicholas Hobbs, *The Futures of Children* (San Francisco : Jossey-Bass, 1975). The latter, in particular, emphasizes the importance of an approach that treats not just the child, *in isolation*, but that recognizes the *family context* of most of these emotional and learning problems, and *looks not only* to the child, but to his family, too, to assist him in overcoming learning difficulties.

The following deficiencies seem to the Examiners to be especially grave :

- there is a far-reaching lack of necessary provision for early diagnosis;
- elementary school teacher training takes too little, if any, account of the necessary basic knowledge required in this area for teachers;
- the training of teachers for the blind, the deaf, and the dumb, via seminars in these schools, is only just beginning. One of the few model training establishments of this kind that the Examiners saw is the Inter-Provincial School for the Training of the Deaf, Amherst, Nova Scotia;
- there is a lack of regional and trans-regional coordination and information centres, for assisting parents and interested educators, etc.;
- there is insufficient or no financial support of voluntary organisations, who have done remarkable things in the past few years to improve the situation and whose co-operation in the future will be indispensable;
- the education of handicapped children must be fully accepted as a public responsibility, and adequate public resources be made available to discharge that responsibility properly, either within the regular schools or in special schools.

The socially disadvantaged

Next to handicapped children, the children from socially disadvantaged and underprivileged families (and especially immigrants) deserve aid. In April, 1975, a study undertaken by the Quebec Ministry of Education, entitled "Education et Développement"(1), contains some important evidence on the number of such children, the causes of their disadvantages, and proposals for necessary measures in this area. It would seem desirable that similar investigations should be undertaken in other Provinces, insofar as that has not been done already. Taken together, they could provide a comprehensive view of this complex problem, and would be of greatest use. For Canada, like most other countries, is still a long way from breaking the vicious cycle of poverty, leading to inadequate education, meagre job opportunities, and continued poverty in the next generation.

The native people

A special case of continuing underprivilege is presented in

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1) Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de l'Education, Education et Développement: Une Approche aux Interventions d'Education en Milieux Défavorisés, April 1975.

Canada by the children of native people and those of mixed blood (Métis). A sharp distinction must be made between so-called Registered and Non-Status Indians. The former are organised in over 500 Indian bands and have retained a special relationship under the Indian Act with the Federal government. The latter enjoy no special protection and support. There are, in addition, 17,000 Inuit who are Canadian citizens, but who do receive educational support from the Federal government.

Educational provision for non-status Indians and Métis is treated as the sole responsibility of the Provinces and their local school boards. It is not possible to say how many non-status Indian and Métis children are attending schools, nor is it possible to cite data on their retention and success in school, for, in Canada, children are identified by race only in schools operated by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. The Western Provinces report that they estimate that about 50,000 non-status Indian and Métis children are enrolled in the schools of the four Western Provinces (compared with 43,000 registered Indian children).

There appears to be a good deal of dissatisfaction with Provincial efforts to accommodate their Indian and Métis minorities. Most have assumed that the standard Canadian school structure and curriculum is an adequate offering, when clearly that is not so. Some efforts are being made to adapt the standard Provincial curricula to the special needs of Indian and Métis children, and there are welcome signs of a much greater appreciation of the need to consult with Indian groups before taking action.

The Federal government organises educational provision for Indians living on Crown land and reserves through the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. In 1973-74 the Department devoted $ 136.6 million to education, and supported 32,000 pupils in Federally-operated schools on Indian reserves and about 40,000 pupils in provincial public or private schools (the Federal government paying for the places provided in the Provincial schools). To this total of 72,000 pupils must be added enrolments of 2,000 Indians and 4,500 Inuits in the Northwest Territories, and 800 Indians in the Yukon.

The Examiners were able to appreciate the extraordinary difficulties which schooling provision has to overcome in the sparsely populated, vast and remote areas of Northern Canada, where many of the Treaty Indians are settled on reserves. Whatever the shortcomings of the Federal government in this area, some Indians, especially in Saskatchewan and New Brunswick, apparently feel that they would prefer education to remain a Federal responsibility, rather than be handed over to the provinces, a proposal that was mooted in 1969. On the other hand, in British Columbia, for example, there seems to be development of vigorous tripartite co-operation among the Indian representative groups, the provincial authorities and the Federal government, aimed at defining and executing programmes for Indian educational and cultural advancement.

There are few exact data on educational conditions. In any case they are not considered to be satisfactory. Estimates of illiteracy do not exist, but it is probably quite high, especially among the older (over 50 years of age) population, many of whom cannot read or write English or French, and the dropout rates before the end of high school are somewhere between 70 and 95 per cent. Probably one Registered Indian child in six today completes twelve grades of school; about two in five complete Grade 9.

In spite of this, it would be wrong to conclude that the federal government in the past few years has made no special effort to remedy the situation. The Examiners were able to see some fine examples of vocational training and re-training in Fort Smith (N.W.T.). There were general education courses for adults, as well as up to 18 vocational training offerings. Even the otherwise militant Indian Brotherhood admit to the progress that has been made in this respect. They criticise though, just as emphatically, the lack of appropriate curricula, and inadequate participation by native people themselves. In sum, the Examiners could not escape the conclusion that there is no overall conception for the improvement of the educational opportunities of native children, and for their steady and devoted realisation. It makes little sense that there are still far too few (about 15 per cent) native teachers, and that only 19 schools are native-controlled.

Official statistics report that only 53 full-time and 48 part-time employees of the central office of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs were natives; including all regional and local offices, the number was 1,200. Band Councils, which are federally-created governing authorities, administer the affairs of each local reserve. Many educated Indians find an opportunity to serve their people via work for the Band Councils. 90 per cent of all Band employees are Indian, or some 2,600 persons, though the Examiners were not able to ascertain the extent to which Indians occupied top administrative positions.

Native children suffer, as do handicapped children, from the splintering of responsibility for their education among several sectors of government. Much more co-operation among federal, provincial, Indian and local school board groups is needed, in the interests of the children and their futures. At present, such co-operation is being sought, but is far from being attained.

A final point seems inescapable. The schools for Indian children administered by the federal government represent in both their structures and their instruction much the same model as the regular schools for Canadians. The Examiners find it hard to understand why the federal government has not taken the opportunity to develop here striking new models of school reform, demonstrating "best practice" pedagogy in difficult conditions. Moreover, such a project could provide an excellent locale for developing the arts of co-operation among federal, provincial, municipal and native authorities.

Bilingual policy

The official bilingual policy is a further fact of Canadian life, greatly influencing the policy of equality of educational opportunity. It is important, moreover, to consider linguistic policies not only in the light of their effects on equality of educational chances, but also from the perspective of social and occupational mobility and relations among people.

About 60 per cent of Canadians speak English, 27 per cent French, and 13 per cent a variety of other languages, as their mother tongues. The French-speaking population is by no means confined to Quebec Province. In New Brunswick, Ontario, Manitoba and P.E.I., there are regions with predominantly French-speaking populations.(1)

To the major English-French linguistic division must be added the language differences of the populations of Indian or Inuit origin, as well as those of other very diverse groups, who wish to maintain contact with their original culture. Nearly three million people are in this category. Thus, one has to add the realities of multiculturalism to the official fact of bilingualism.

The Examiners were reminded many times in Canada that the Confederation was founded in an agreement made between two distinct linguistic communities, a point that is noted particularly in Article 133 of the British North America Act.

The Federal Law on the two official languages (1969)(2) reinforced the bilingual character of Canada. The chosen option is to recognise that there is room in Canada to permit both languages and, hence, both cultures, the English and the French, to participate in economic, social and political life across the entire length and breadth of Canada.

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1) There are also small French language areas in Saskatchewan and Alberta.

2) The Official Languages Act came into force in September 1969. It provides that "the English and French languages are the official languages of Canada" and that "they possess and enjoy equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all the institutions of the Parliament and Government of Canada".

To this end, the federal government has established a programme of considerable assistance to the provinces, to aid them in:

a) developing education in the minority language (English or French);

b) developing education in English or French, as the case may be, as a second language.

For the period 1970 to 1974, federal aid amounted to $ 70 million a year. A further programme is in operation, 1974-1979, and offers approximately $ 100 million a year in aid.

In conformity with Canadian practice, federal programmes for support of bilingualism are executed by the Provinces. The bilingual policies are therefore applied in many diverse ways, using different structures.

In the question of aid to bilingual education there is exemplified the whole realm of difficulties and ambiguities that may arise when the federal government is prepared to be a supplier of funds, but the provinces, on constitutional grounds, wish to avoid even the appearance of co-operation.

Whether the educational policy goal of aid to bilingualism can be achieved adequately, given such difficult relationships, is an open question.(1)

Realisation of bilingualism in the schools has made varying progress. The Examiners were able to see some outstanding immersion language programmes in kindergarten, elementary and secondary schools. However, they heard complaints about insufficient numbers of course offerings, and inadequately prepared teachers.(2) Again and again, the complaint was made that the resources provided for language programmes by the Federal government were not being used for that purpose. From the official standpoint, it was often stated (for example, in Quebec) that the Ministries of Education in any case would spend more on language instruction than the Federal government was providing. Federal authorities complained that they had too little a role in the preparation and execution of the programmes.

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1) In 1971-73, in the predominantly anglophone areas of Canada, the following percentages of the enrolled pupils were learning French:

In the elementary schools:	1971	30.8 per cent
	1973	34.8
In the secondary schools:	1971	53.2
	1973	43.5

Thus, in the secondary schools, there was a marked decline in the percentage of anglophone children learning French.

2) However, approximately 5,000 second language teachers a year are receiving bursaries to enable them to take upgrading and retraining courses. The emphasis on teacher training has been in effect since 1973, and should help make a significant improvement in the quality of teachers' preparation.

The non-Québécois francophones whom the Examiners met have everywhere noted that great progress has been made in bilingual education during the past five or six years, while at the same time insisting that there are still some severe problems. The most notable were reported to the Examiners as being:

- Lack of administrative and pedagogical structures at the Provincial and the local level, which could furnish necessary help to the schools and could improve the quality of instruction (upgrading teachers' knowledge, development and introduction of curricula, etc.).(1)
- Certain local problems in those provinces where more latitude is left to the school boards. Sometimes, the latter are not disposed to favour the creation of schools and/or of classes for teaching the French language, or in French.
- Adoption, quite frequently, of bilingual education for the francophones. This weakens their knowledge of their own culture, and is not necessarily supportive of their knowledge of English.
- Apprenticeship and cultural development are nowadays no longer the monopoly of the school, but are assisted by radio, television, cinema, and cultural events of all kinds. "The maintenance of francophonia in an ocean of non-francophonia" (as the problem was expressed by some discussants) therefore presupposes that solutions will have to be based on institutions other than the school, though not excluding the school.

It cannot be doubted that bilingualism is still one of the basic political problems of the Canadian Federation and that, although great progress has been made, the issue has still potentially the most important educational and policy implications.(2) The basic difficulty comes from the fact that although French is considered equally with English as one of the two founding languages, its position is still not symmetrical to English; learning French for the English in Canada and North America, in general, is certainly not equivalent to learning English for the French. For this reason, explicitly or implicitly,

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1) Nevertheless, one should note that most provinces do, in fact, have special administrative arrangements within their Departments of Education, relating to the promotion of bilingualism and instruction in the minority language. Often this responsibility is discharged by a separate branch. In New Brunswick there is virtually an entire department, headed by a Deputy Minister, to administer such matters. In addition, the Federal government pays a grant to each province with respect to the cost of administering the bilingual and minority language programmes. In 1974-75, total grants for this purpose exceeded $ 13 million.

2) See Appendix D for a further discussion of these wider implications.

the French-speaking minority in Canada as a whole demands more protection against the risks of anglicisation than simple, formal, official "reciprocal" equality would provide.

At the same time, the English-speaking minority in Quebec Province demands more protection against what it views as an overactive French-language policy of the provincial authorities, that threatens to extinguish deep-rooted "anglo" elements in Quebec culture and society. Francophones claim, not without justification, that the French-speaking component of the Canadian Confederation is essential for the creation and maintenance of a distinct national identity, which would otherwise have tended to dissolve in the larger context of English-speaking North America if it were not for a stubborn adherence to their language and culture by the French-Canadians.

For this reason alone, positive measures for developing French culture in Canada with federal financial assistance may be the true road to a sense of Canadian nationhood, that incorporates both linguistic cultures, paradoxical though that may seem. Spending large sums of money to improve the teaching of each other's languages as a second language may have to be subordinated to giving help on a grand enough scale to maintain the French language as a living language in all the regions within each Province where the French-speaking community is strong enough.

The Examiners would favour the creation of a *national* council for French cultural development, created with *federal* money. The rationale for such a council would be the need to develop the cultural content of a new Canadian national identity, based on the co-existence of two interacting cultures.

In addition, it would be most helpful if substantial Federal resources were made available, specifically to promote the development of one or two of the francophone universities to the point where they would be fully competitive with the best anglophone universities in North America.

Artistic talent

The principle of the best-possible advancement of all children must be applied not only to handicapped and disadvantaged children, but also to those with artistic talents.

In this case, we are dealing not with a task which has special social urgency, but with one having great cultural and socio-political significance. This is more pressing for a young nation, like Canada, that is just beginning to develop its own identity. The content of such an identity is surely not only defined by technical and economic achievements and the fact of a national political entity. It is also composed of common cultural and artistic achievements and ties, which contribute to the continuing and firm sense of national identity. Where else but in the schools can the requirements for this be created ?

In an egalitarian society (which is a formal goal towards which Canada seeks to aspire), there is a tendency to regard a provision that might have as its consequence the nurturing of special gifts among a few as in some way undesirable. A policy of "benign neglect" may however run the risk of producing some undesirable consequences.

Complaints concerning the lack or inadequacy of art and music education, and about the scarcity of qualified teachers and of appropriate programmes, were made forcefully to the Examiners. Art and music education is often seen as an expendable "frill" in the schools. Out-of-school programmes for the development of artistic talents are not broadly in evidence either, though some notable programmes were cited.

If, in general, among the educated groups in Canada, there is heard a constant complaint concerning the predominant influence of the United States and Europe in cultural and artistic affairs, this is surely one consequence of the neglect within Canada of the nurture of artistic talents in schools and in educational efforts generally. Certainly, talented creativity cannot be made out of thin air, and artistic interests and demands cannot be forced into existence. But a patient and steady development effort would surely produce a rich harvest in the foreseeable future, and make a positive contribution to the formulation of a Canadian national identity.

The Examiners must also state their conclusion that there is a similar neglect in the area of physical education. There is a lack of teachers and of a broadly based programme throughout the entire school curriculum.

Physical education has too often been viewed simply in terms of the development of team sports, or of "physical jerks". Its contribution to the aesthetic and rhythmic elements in young people's lives has been broadly neglected and needs serious attention and development.

Opportunities for women

The principle of equality of educational opportunity is valid for both sexes. There are slightly more females than males enrolled in the senior high schools, but in the tertiary sector, the proportion of females falls. The proportion of females in college enrolment is 45.8 per cent; in the universities it is 36.9 per cent. Only 24.3 per cent of graduate students were female in 1972-73. Only 12.8 per cent of fulltime university teachers are women (1972-73): 3.8 per cent of the full professors, 8.8 per cent of the associate professors, and 14.7 per cent of the assistant professors. Moreover, many of these are teaching in the so-called "women's subjects" (home economics, nursing, fine arts, and languages), so that the under representation of women in the teaching staffs of the tertiary sector is much worse in many subject areas than the figures cited above convey. The share of women in leading positions in administration and policy-making in universities and colleges is as low as it is elsewhere.

In addition, although there are approximately three women for every two men serving as teachers in the elementary and secondary schools, there appear to be few women holding positions of administration and policy-making in the school system.

It is possible to conclude that access to all educational institutions is certainly open to females, but that there are few measures taken to open access to the higher (let alone the highest) positions in teaching and administration. The Examiners were assured that efforts are being made to remedy this. It is to be hoped that the women themselves will take thought and action to support these efforts.

V. DEMOCRATISATION AND PARTICIPATION

Alongside the principle of the realisation of equality of educational opportunity (a general goal) stands the principle of democratisation (a process).

Democratisation is an exceedingly ill-defined concept, embracing notions of representation of interest groups, participation in planning and decision making, openness of deliberations, and co-operation among groups in programme execution.

We shall be concentrating here on democratisation, participation, and the like, as they are demanded and required in school governance. We shall, therefore, not be considering the partial autonomy of the community colleges and the very far-reaching autonomy of the universities; nor the internal democratic forms of Canadian tertiary institutions, and participation in their governance by the several groups, including students.

Conventionally in Canada, it has been assumed that demands for democratic participation in education would be, and are, met by the deep-rooted tradition of decentralisation of school control and administration. Yet, demands for democratisation and participation are manifestly in the air in Canada, apparently unsatisfied by the conventional approach via decentralisation.

However, the goal of democratisation does not appear in Canada to be associated with a precise conception of particular social relations, but is more often a matter of concerns and intentions that are expressed in fairly general terms. Hence, there is a certain amount of scepticism expressed on this subject in Canada, as elsewhere.

The starting point for a reconsideration of the forms and processes of school governance should be recognition of the extent to which the school of 1975 is no longer the school of 1950. It is no longer an institution generated by a fairly restricted community, receiving from it a clear mandate, and organising its education around a limited number of generally accepted fundamental values. Today, the schools are situated at the intersection between the society of today and the society of tomorrow – something which does not yet exist and which no-one can clearly define.

In a very short period of time, the school has taken on new responsibilities and its role at the very centre of society has been considerably modified. In vain, the school searches for a particular, specified set of knowledge, attitudes, and values that it should impart. Today, it has to strive to teach young people how to learn; it must prepare them for autonomy, liberty, flexibility, creativity, difference and divergence – that is, for nothing that is already in place in society. Its terms of reference can no longer be society as it is at present, and even less can they be simply given by the local community in which the school is situated.

Instruments for school governance

The increased involvement of Provincial authorities in educational development all over Canada in recent decades has quite logically led to the development of a number of legal, financial, and informational instruments for school governance. These are considered in turn below. Although generally speaking, legal instruments may be somewhat less used by the Canadian Provinces than by highly centralised governments in other countries, there is still a fairly wide range available. Ontario and some of the Western Provinces may have come to a point at which a certain substitution of other policy instruments for the legal ones is seriously considered. In Quebec and the Atlantic Provinces, such considerations are hardly more than verbal as yet.

The organs of local school administration are the school boards. The provincial authorities delineate school board areas, and their number has been drastically reduced in recent years, by provincial action, for example: in Ontario from about 4000 to 200 (1) ;in New Brunswick from 422 to 33; in Prince Edward Island from 217 to 5. School boards today are not coterminous with local political divisions, and their jurisdictions often extend over so extensive an area that their relationship to the school and to the political community becomes somewhat nebulous. The school boards are controlled by elected, or appointed (in many cases, both elected and appointed) and, often, voluntary trustees. The administrative head of the school board is the Superintendent of Schools, appointed by the trustees under conditions of greater or lesser influence of the Ministry of Education.

Each Province has different regulations for such matters as the number of trustees, their duties and rights. There are also many vari-

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1) In Ontario, an initial reduction stage from 4,000 to 1,535 took place voluntarily, under permissive legislation. The second stage of reduction, from 1,535 to 200, was by direct Provincial legislative action.

ations in the patterns of relationships between school boards on the one side and schools, parents and teachers, on the other. Judgements about their range of activity and their possibilities for action are equally diverse: many trustees feel isolated both from above and from below; others complain about their reduced powers.

Provincial governments are usually heavily involved in curriculum development. They not only provide curriculum guide-lines, but also exercise rights of approval over new courses, textbooks and other material. The key role of provincial administration in deciding the terms of teacher certification is an essential instrument for control, and strongly influences the content of teacher training. Increasingly the Provinces are taking over the function of negotiating salaries and working conditions for teachers and other staff, and setting upper limits to staffing ratios.

Notwithstanding this plethora of provincial legal instruments, freely used by the "central" authorities, the official policy of all the provincial governments (no matter what their party composition) insists on the value of decentralisation and the local autonomy of local school boards.

In addition, financial instruments are being used increasingly to control decisions that, formally speaking, rest at local levels. To some extent, such instruments may gradually replace more rigid legal regulations. Typical examples of such financial instruments in elementary and secondary education are:

- The formulas used for calculating provincial contributions to school boards, and to some extent even to individual schools, are based on intricate weightings of cost components and various types of courses, in a way that inevitably serves to direct local choices.
- New courses and programmes are not automatically financed even if they are kept within the framework of formula-based funds.
- In addition to the formula financing, which is intended to secure a minimum standard, "extraordinary" grants for a variety of purposes are given. At least in some Provinces the relative share of such extraordinary grants is increasing and they constitute a direct means of regulating local activities. The need for local school boards to negotiate about such grants is in itself a mechanism helping to create school board conformity to Provincial authorities.
- Capital grants are mostly fully controlled provincially, so that the extent and direction of expansion within the system, including institutional location and size, is fairly well controlled.
- Provincial subsidies for school buses are usually provided

separately, and in such forms as to guarantee an exceptionally low local burden. The formulas also generally do not compensate school boards for the high cost levels associated with small schools in rural areas. Both factors encourage the establishment of large schools.

The array of grants from provincial (and federal) authorities has produced a situation where, in two provinces (New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island), all public elementary and secondary school expenditures are borne by the provincial authorities directly, or by the federal authorities indirectly, and in Newfoundland the local share is less than 1 per cent of the total. On average in Canada, the provincial authorities pay roughly two dollars for every one dollar spent on schools by the local authorities (see Table 9). Nevertheless, the value of decentralisation continues to be insisted upon, perhaps in recognition of the fact that the degree of centralisation or decentralisation of the provision of financial resources may bear little relationship to the degree of centralised or decentralised decision-making.

Informational policy instruments also appear to be increasingly used by provincial governments. Some of the most common are:

- The central production of curriculum materials reaches substantial levels in many Provinces, which partly explains the large central staff found in some of them.
- "Supervisory" functions at central and regional level employ a large number of people, many of whom act as "expert consultants" with a de facto combination of advisory and controlling functions.
- Forms of evaluation of local programmes, schools and school boards are being developed, as an "objective" specialist activity.
- Extensive guidelines for all sorts of school functions, including "models" for school organisation are disseminated.

It follows from all the above that provincial governments have at their disposal a wide variety of policy instruments, capable of shaping policies not only at the school board level, but even within the individual school and classroom. It is also evident that provincial administration does not hesitate to use such instruments when the need is felt. Local weaknesses are therefore rarely to be attributed to observance of some general principle of provincial respect for local autonomy, but either to a lack of concern for such weaknesses or, in some cases, to political weakness preventing the use of available instruments to achieve unpopular ends.

School boards and participation

The predominance of power in policy-making (and in many cases in administration) lies with the Ministries of Education - putting aside all protestations by Ministry officials that this is not so. The influence of Parliaments is limited, as far as one can ascertain, to quite formal matters of legislating and passing budgets, and there is no expectation that they will be the source of any strong political influence or administrative decision.

TABLE 9
EXPENDITURES ON ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION BY SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR PROVINCES AND CANADA, 1973

	Total Government Sources ($'000)	Federal %	Provincial or Territorial %	Municipal %
Newfoundland	105,913	3.5	95.4	0.9
Prince Edward Island	22,747	4.9	95.1	---
Nova Scotia	175,106	4.2	58.9	36.8
New Brunswick	185,535	3.3	96.7	---
Quebec	1,753,853	1.1	62.0	36.9
Ontario	2,312,472	2.6	70.3	27.1
Manitoba	263,900	8.9	57.9	33.2
Saskatchewan	227,268	7.0	54.9	38.0
Alberta	464,625	3.5	60.0	36.5
British Columbia	541,558	3.5	48.9	47.6
Yukon	9,018	8.3	91.7	---
Northwest Territories	33,689	---	97.6	2.4
Canada(1)	7,193,348	3.2	63.9	32.9

1) Canada includes overseas and undistributable expenditures (= $ 20 million in 1973)

Source: *Review of Educational Policies in Canada, Foreword and Introduction*, Table 16, and subsequent revision by Statistics Canada.

This obvious discrepancy between Ministry lip-service to decentralisation and a reality that is moving continuously in the direction of less decentralisation, lends the entire discussion about local participation a somewhat insincere tone and, perhaps more importantly, pushes it in the wrong direction. The question is not whether more or less decentralisation means more or less democratisation, but: *how can it be arranged that open decision-making and execution of affairs in the educational realm be brought about in a democratic manner?*

As presently constituted, school boards deal largely with the "business" elements of the school operation, such as fund raising, details of school construction, meals for pupils and additional optional programmes. The boards appear less involved in the more basic features of school organisation and the main components of curricula. The main practical outcome of "autonomy" may indeed be to provide a means whereby wealthy school districts can equip their schools better than poor ones.

Probably the traditional small school boards had far better contacts with the local community, and also more influence on the relatively small schools themselves. The consolidation of school board areas is bound to create a considerable distance between elected representatives and their constituencies. This may partly explain the high frequency of election by acclamation, and the low participation rate in school board elections. Added to this, however, is the general absence of election "platforms", specifying the candidates' particular academic and pedagogical proposals. Voters in school board elections very rarely have a sense that they are choosing among alternative policies for their schools. The fairly heavy work burden on active school board members, especially in large school boards, is another hindrance to broad participation.

In total, the school board institution appears to function as a guarantee of control by established local interests. Increased autonomy for local school boards (which, incidentally, does not necessarily depend upon a larger share of the local property tax in school financing, or such forms of financing at all) may create some more variation within the school system, though largely in terms of inequality of resources that are devoted to school provision. Moreover, it is rather doubtful whether more power for the school boards would in any real sense mean more community involvement.

An alternative, tentatively tried in some provinces, would be to establish direct relationships between the individual school and the parents involved. This may, in fact, lead to more community involvement, though probably the social biases built into the school board institution could well prevail in such new parental bodies.

Essential to the question of community involvement is the lack of formal lines between local school administration and local administration concerned with non-school affairs. The ensuing lack of coordination is quite evident both in terms of provision for children needing help from a variety of local services, and in the isolation of the school itself and its facilities. Unless the segregated position of the school system in general is broken, it is difficult to see how any extensive form of genuine community involvement can develop.

Professional participation

If less emphasis is put on community involvement, and more simply on a certain amount of decentralisation in order to avoid some of the most rigid features of central bureaucracy, the professional groups in and around the schools would be natural candidates for more autonomy. If school innovation is a major objective, this appears to be the most promising road to take. Whether such a road would also lead to more commitment to social concern, is a more open question. In some other Provinces this may, however, actually be the case at present.

More "professional" autonomy puts in the forefront the rather obscure term "professionalisation". Appendix B, on "Industrialisation of Education", outlines certain features of one version of a professionalisation process, not atypical of the Canadian scene. Such features point towards a rather hierarchical bureaucratic structure within the profession, and certainly not one which would ensure broad participation in decision-making even among the people professionally involved in school affairs. If this form of "professionalism" is going to prevail, it is highly unlikely to produce innovative ideas on its own, though it may be reasonably effective in implementing innovations dictated from above. "Professionalisation" may certainly take other forms, and some of the provincial teacher organisations may be aware of this, though the evidence for this is not absolutely clear. At present, the chances of achieving significant levels of local initiative through increased autonomy for the school community in the more narrow sense, appear slim. They are not helped by the rather heavy workload imposed upon ordinary teachers. The overwhelming likelihood is that "professional autonomy" will lead to a predominance of "expert" control external to the individual school.

It goes without saying that under the present circumstances, and particularly with the present tendencies in school organisation, a genuine student participation in decision-making is very restricted, if not practically impossible.

Prospects ahead

Taken together, all this presents a rather gloomy picture of the potential for progress via a genuine decentralisation within the

Canadian school system, either in the direction of more community involvement or of more institutional autonomy. Moreover, the recent tendencies towards more centralised decision-making obviously lead to a feeling of increasing distance, apathy and disenchantment towards schools among most people.

There is hardly any way out of this dilemma unless the traditional conception of the school system as an internally governed, "professional" exercise mainly dealt with at a rather high level of confidentiality, and kept well out of "politics" is replaced by a general acceptance of education as an essential social phenomenon, relevant to everyone, and reflecting all the divergencies of views represented in a normal political spectrum – currently even acquiring some quite novel dimensions.

There are numerous warning signals that all is not well in the world of school governance. The warnings are reflected in virtually universal complaints about lack of information, numerous protestation that the decisions of the Ministry are never heard about at the grassroots (parents and teachers voice this complaint), and fulmination against apparently arbitrary decisions made by the Ministry, over everyone's head. Parents complain that the school boards are remote and take no notice of them. School boards feel that, paradoxically, "nobody is listening out there", at the same time that they also feel they cannot make an important move or decision without the world caving in on top of them.

More decentralisation must not be taken as a synonym for more democratisation, especially if local administrations do not pay sufficient attention to the rules of the democratic process (which seems to happen). More centralisation does not have to mean less democracy, if the central authorities involve all participants and parties affected by decisions in a timely manner, and then delegate to them execution of the decision.

A ministry can, for example, easily agree unilaterally to more decentralisation, but by reserving carefully the powers that will inevitably remain in its hand, can make its decisions in as autocratic a manner as before ! And quite independent school boards can behave in exactly similar fashion toward their schools, teachers, parents and pupils: decentralisation does not automatically guarantee democratisation.

Certainly, these failings are not peculiar to Canada, but what is needed is observance of the following principles, that might lead to genuine co-operation:

1. Participation of all parties should be a generally observed procedure in decision-making, in order to eliminate systematically the universal complaints of lack of information, inef-

fectuality, excessive friction and lack of co-operation.

2. School boards, trustees and all concerned parties must be involved in a timely fashion in all decisions affecting their work. They must be properly and punctually informed about the details of decisions.
3. When decisions are taken, their execution should be as decentralised as possible and should be completed independently. The Ministry can be involved in an advisory capacity.

In the Examiners' opinion, a procedure like this would produce a more meaningful and lasting democratisation of school administration in Canada than will continued debates over more or less decentralisation, which can hardly help matters further in the present circumstances.

One may summarise under three basic points the goals o[illegible]articipation:

- To rediscover a certain form of direct democracy, i.e., the exercise by the largest number of citizens possible, of powers of administration over public matters;
- To bring citizens into a more direct relationship with decision-making than is possible under a system of electing-representatives;
- To improve administrative procedures, by transferring to intermediate and local levels those decisions which must be taken rapidly and flexibly, to take account of specific local circumstances.

In sum, participation should afford citizens possibility of action and initiative in the domain of public life. It should also give to all those participating in a particular public enterprise the possibility of sharing in the definition of its goals and in its administration.

This is particularly valid for the pupils, who have the most interest in knowing where the school is taking them, and how. And this becomes even more pertinent, if an aim is to have pupils regard the years they spend in school as an important element in their lives. Surely, it is a strange approach to preparing people to take responsibility, to arrange that they have none during the entire period of their preparation!

Participation requires a double series of structures:

- Local administrative structures, as close as possible to the problems that must be decided, and embracing all the interested groups (pupils, teachers, parents; and, outside the school, business interests, trade unions).
- Modes of consultation and participation that allow for discussions, and then confrontations with the results of decisions in a feed-back process.

Participation also requires that the levels and location of power and competence for the various tasks be well-defined, the principle being that administrative autonomy be guaranteed in a framework of agreed and well-defined goals.

If these approaches are accepted as instruments for the functional democratisation of planning, decision-making and executive action, then not only must all participants exhibit a high degree of competence and responsibility, but they must also be ready to work together constructively at these forms of co-operation. To achieve this, the relationship between the "upper" and the "lower" authorities must be reconstructed, as well as the relationships between all authorities and the various organisations, unions, confederations, and so forth. (The richly cynical sentence in the brief of one influential organisation, commenting on the Background Reports, deserves quoting: "Everywhere where the words Co-operation and Communication stand, honest reporting would demand the words Confrontation and Conflict". Even though this generalisation may have been somewhat exaggerated for effect, the comment fits the general atmosphere. Certainly it is not a climate in which real co-operation can flourish).

Educational administrations

The importance of educational administration for the functional and innovative efficiency of an educational system can hardly be overestimated. Through a correct understanding of its role it can achieve much more than is generally recognised. However, if administrations let bureaucratic procedures develop unchecked they can do severe damage to a newly-developed educational system.

The Examiners received indications of tendencies in both directions. In general, they have the impression that educational administration in Canada has still not set in any rigid mould and that many different possibilities for change exist.

Educational administration has played a great role in the enormous progress that Canadian education has made in the past 15 years. Although there are present, as almost everywhere else, tendencies towards unchecked bureaucracy and overstaffing, it is one of the strengths of Canadian educational administrations that, in contrast to most well-developed bureaucracies, they not only are able to bear criticism, but they are able to take it into account, also. This became very clear in the countless hearing sessions and conversations during the Examination, in which representatives of organisations and institutions often levelled sharp criticism against the Background Reports, alleged that they were full of "whitewashing", and complained about lack of information, co-operation and co-ordination. There was not a single attempt made on the part of the administrators to suppress such critical expressions, or even to correct them. The Examiners thus had ample opportunity to obtain a full picture of the range of views held on the relevant problems, their dark as well as their light sides.

The capacity to bear with open dissent is viewed by the Examiners as a sign of strength on the part of the administrations, and of their genuine attitude that toleration of different positions is necessary. It has proved to be extraordinarily useful that the Canadian organisers of the programme for the OECD Examination in no way attempted to eliminate or to minimize these different positions. The Examiners wish to thank them expressly for this.

The Examiners do not believe that educational administration in Canada is in general sufficiently conscious about itself – its roles, duties, modes of operation, social significance, and so forth. Because Ministers of Education in Canada change quite frequently (a three year tenure, or less, is quite usual) and do not usually bring with them into office much administrative experience or deep specialised knowledge of education, and because the educational administrations themselves have been caught up in the recent past in the immediate concerns of expansion of the capacity of the educational system, it is quite important in the next few years that they take thought not only concerning general educational policy problems, but also for their own roles and responsibilities. To this end, a certain critical stance and perhaps also some advice from outside may be helpful.

It has appeared to the Examiners that the administrations have not been able to digest even a fraction of all the material that has poured in on them from the commissions, councils, working groups, and so forth which the administrations have themselves set up. If one adds to this all the more or less ignored educational policy literature, then it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that something has gone dreadfully wrong. Either one admits that all the consultative activities were simply pro forma, an exercise undertaken solely to pacify the public; or they should be made use of, either positively or negatively. If the latter, the need is for more focussed and task orientated reports and for more attention to the evaluation of reports than has generally been the case to date. One might recommend more seriousness on the part of those commissioning reports, and less eagerness for sheer quantity of output, for Canadian educational administration threatens to drown in a sea of unread, unstudied and unevaluated reports.

The contribution of interest groups

It would certainly be desirable if the authorities also made more use than they appear to do of the analyses produced by a number of interest groups. These analyses, reviews and reports often go far beyond the limits of the interest groups' immediate constituency.

An example is pertinent here. The Examiners received briefs and commentaries from organisations and interest-groups (representative teacher, parental, trustee, student, and tertiary sector organisations) reacting to the six governmental Background Reports for the OECD Examination. These comments were a valuable and necessary supplement to the official statements. They provided a very important aid to the Examiners in rendering their judgements, and a necessary antidote to the sometimes blandly positive picture of the situation given in the official statements.

It is impossible within the limits of this Report to describe in detail and to evaluate the work of all the interest groups and organisations that the Examiners have met. For this reason, only a summary of their functions and their overall significance can be given here.

The educational policy interest groups play a significant role at the local, regional and national levels. They regard themselves, quite rightly, as an important factor in a democratic society and contribute to its liveliness and variety.

In the process of educational policy decision-making and its actual execution, the teachers and their organisations play a special role. The Examiners wish that only a fraction of the tireless fundamental work that they do in matters of school policy (e.g., in further qualifications of teachers, and in all areas of pedagogical, school organisation and curricular affairs) might receive its proper acknowledgement and attention on the part of the authorities and the administrations. Failing this, expressions of frustration and hostile counter-reactions on the part of the teachers' organisations and their members are only too comprehensible.

The functional ability of the school depends to a great extent on the person of the teacher, his subject-competence, his conditions of work, his understanding of his role, and his attitude to society. In the limits of the Examiners' Report, we can only comment in general on these complex matters.

The number of full-time teachers in Canada has increased markedly in a decade-and-a-half, from 174,000 to 271,000, and the fraction of teachers with university degrees has doubled. A poorly qualified, underpaid and little respected group has been transformed in a matter of two decades into a respected, well-qualified, excellently organised, and influential profession.

If teachers and their organisations nevertheless today give the impression of disquiet, it cannot be primarily as a result of dissatisfaction with their material progress. It is estimated that the last few years have witnessed a 40 per cent increase in teachers' salaries, largely as a result of vigorous teachers' union activity.

The reasons for the disquiet among teachers go deeper, and must be taken seriously. They seem to lie principally in the painful discrepancy between teachers' educational hopes and expectations and their disappointment face to face with reality. In addition, teachers often consider that the demands made by society upon the schools are hopelessly exaggerated. Teachers feel that the public now takes the attitude: "If something's not right in society - let the schools and the teachers take care of it"; and, "Whenever the family, church, or society in general have failed, the school will be held responsible". These are only two quotations from the many conversations which the Examiners had with teachers.

However, teachers' organisations should take care that, insofar as they necessarily represent certain definite material self-interests, they need to separate these from their general educational policy approaches and interventions. Many of the contemporary tensions (which happen to damage the respect and the trust afforded to the interest groups) can be traced back to such confusions of purpose and obliteration of proper boundaries. They could be eliminated with great benefit to the notion of co-operative collaboration among the relevant groups.

There is also evidence that the increasing concentration of teachers' organisation activity on questions of salary and benefits is undermining their reputation as a professional group interested in furthering specifically educational (as distinct from teachers') interests. This turning toward economic and financial concerns is, of course, understandable in a period when declining school enrolments cause many teachers to fear that their job-security is threatened, and when rapid inflation of prices hits hard at the real incomes of public service employees.

With reference to the open frustration that exists, the Examiners have only the following general observations to make:

- At every appropriate opportunity, teachers should be given the ample encouragement and praise of school authorities, parents and the public that their heavy responsibilities lead them to deserve.
- Teachers' organisations should be drawn into consultative and advisory functions in the decision-making process more than they are at present, in the interests of higher levels of participatory decision-making.
- In the present period of economic recession, they should use traditional trade union sanctions (strikes, go-slow policies, etc.) with extra restraint.

- Instead they should make every effort, internally and vis-à-vis the public to provide an example of democratic procedure and readiness to co-operate.
- They should continue with undiminished efforts the improvement of professional qualifications(1), and should not reduce their commitment to educational policy affairs.

Parent- and trustee-organisations are similarly performing a valuable service as they pursue the self-education of their members and the propagation of understanding of their functions and work. Their efforts form an indelible part of Canadian democratic life. One might point to the Canadian Association for Children with Learning Disabilities as an example of success in bringing to fuller public attention the inadequate provisions for helping children with handicaps of a particular form. Or to the activity of those school trustees (usually housewives and other idealists) who, in spite of all obstacles, manage to discharge faithfully their duty to be "good stewards" of the schools, their needs and their cares. But there are scores of examples that might be cited.

The attitude of the Canadian authorities to the interest groups seems to the Examiners to be strangely ambivalent. On the one hand, interest groups were, if anything, over-represented in the hearings arranged by the Ministries that the Examiners conducted. On the other hand, it was observed that the authorities usually took a rather negative position, whenever the Examiners suggested that it would help if the interest groups had a stronger and more secure role in the process of educational decision-making.

This can certainly be understood, if specific bad experiences during struggles over teachers' pay or legislative matters have left their marks. But it is not really understandable when the question is about other matters, especially on fundamental issues, such as more universal participation in decision-making.

Pupils and students must not be omitted from discussion of participation in educational policy and administration.

In all of the Canadian secondary schools, representative school councils are elected, whose engagement and effectiveness depend not

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1) The Examiners recognize, however, the importance of intensifying teachers' further education and training (via in-service training, upgrading programmes, etc.). The permission given in Quebec for every teacher to spend 20 days a year in further education, work preparation and pedagogical reflection, deserves general attention. This cannot be accomplished solely by the private, voluntary efforts of the teachers' unions, nor by reliance on the often piecemeal offerings provided by school administrations. Instead, there must be carefully drawn up, comprehensive and generally required programmes.

only on the interest of the pupils, but also upon the attitudes of the school.

Complaints are general about the small interest that most pupils show for internal school affairs and for political questions. The Examiners received much the same impression. In one isolated case, they met two newly elected pupil representatives, who were full of ideas and plans for a broad programme of stimulating their colleagues. All such students should receive as much encouragement as possible, in the interest of active democratic development in the future in Canada.

Besides this, as already noted above, it seems to the Examiners to be very important that the opinion of the "final consumers", the pupils, be sought and attended to whenever there are evaluations, consultations, and so forth, in questions of school organisation.

The likelihood of engaging most college and university students does not look at present much more hopeful. "Students are more concerned with their own future, than with society's problems", was the resigned comment that the Examiners heard frequently. No doubt this "turning inward" is to be expected at a time when immediate employment prospects for many of the graduates of the post-secondary institutions look dim. The pressures of competition to succeed personally in study and jobs leave students with less time and interest for taking care of institutional and general social affairs.

There is a special complaint made in the university sector by students, relative to the withdrawal under budgetary pressure of some new creative and interdisciplinary courses, an alleged revived tendency towards "secrecy of university administration", and the loss of so many of the "hard-won achievements" of the 1960s.

Some students have established a country-wide organisation, the National Union of Students, to try to replace the Canadian Union of Students, which went out of existence a number of years ago, but there are political and social problems remaining.

The Examiners regard the treatment of student organisations by the Ministries as too formal,(1) too distant, and not sufficiently supportive in terms of money and encouragement. Here, too, the remarks made with reference to encouraging the interest of school children are in order: In a democracy it is not enough that those in authority constantly think and act in the interests of their students. They must create the situation where students have the opportunity to think their own thoughts about their own welfare. And for this purpose, student organisations are relevant. They should not simply

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1) The Examiners were disappointed that a contact that they desired with the National Union of Students was deemed not to be possible on purely formal and protocol grounds.

be tolerated; they must be supported, if they are not to wither away, or indulge themselves in violent reaction to frustration that serves only to fulfill the authorities' worst fears.

In a number of Provinces a new link between the people and the school is being developed in the form of community schools. These are schools that are open to the local community, or to the city district. All the school resources, from the gymnasium to the library, are open to citizens and, even more important, there are opportunities for parents to take part in school activities at any time, as well as the chance for older people to take part in novel programmes of adult education, work with young people, and so forth. In addition, the frequent use of schools for adult education activities is a step in the right direction. A well-run community school can bring community and school nearer together than can any theoretical discussions. Such models can be emphatically recommended for imitation and further development.

VI. TERTIARY EDUCATION

Some reference has been made already to the tertiary sector, particularly concerning the expansion in size that has taken place, as well as the contribution the sector is making to achieving greater equality of educational opportunity.

This chapter presents the Examiners' judgements on a number of further issues in the tertiary sector that have impressed them as being of prime importance:

- provincial policies in higher education;
- inter-university co-operation;
- financing and "rationalisation" of universities;
- development of graduate programmes;
- community college development.

Provincial policies

The provinces seem to have been successful in their efforts to limit the federal role in higher education and it appears unlikely that they will yield much on this point in the future. Under the pre-1967 practice, the federal government made grants, in effect, directly to institutions, by-passing the Provincial authorities. The latter complained that this mode of financing made their provincial treasuries virtual hostages of federal decisions over which they had no control. Now the amount of provincial entitlements are determined in accordance with provincial expenditures on post-secondary education. The payments themselves are unconditional. (University research still receives direct funds from Federal sources).

The idea that institutions at the tertiary level should somehow relate more closely than they have done to their surrounding communities has taken firm hold. Many community colleges and other non-university institutions have embraced this proposition with vigour, while most universities have been content to leave this function to such institutions, insisting upon primarily serving a "national" and even global function. Most universities seem to hope for Federal support in their fight to avoid being submerged by commitments to local (or even provincial) concerns, yet it is doubtful whether their aims in fact serve any more of a national purpose than the idea that universities should be more firmly rooted in their immediate social environments.

Provincial administrations have secured a firm control over community colleges and other non-university units, and their orientation is effectively constrained towards serving strictly local interests. Moreover, to a considerable extent, the definition of local needs appears to be made centrally by Provincial authorities.

As to the universities, provincial governments have in many cases established rather detailed controls in recent years. Universities have traditionally used control over entry requirements as a means of bolstering institutional autonomy, but the "formula" financing patterns applied by the Provinces have undermined this control.

The weightings built into formula financing have considerable influence on institutional decisions; the formula offers considerable inducements for expansion; and tight Provincial control over capital investments regulates fairly well the level and direction of expansion. Increasing control over the establishment of new programmes in individual institutions offers further opportunities for provincial control, which may be extended through processes of evaluation of ongoing programmes. Although the sharpness of such controls is modified by the existence of such intermediary institutions as Higher Education Councils and Grants Commissions, the Examiners are of the opinion that some provincial authorities go too far in their attempts to control institutional decisions, particularly in Alberta and Quebec. Universities may not be too trustworthy in their definitions of what "quality" in education should be, but they are probably better at this than officialdom at the provincial level. The frequent provincial references to "duplication of programmes" and the "need for rationalisation" are not terribly convincing (at least as concerns undergraduate teaching) unless one accepts the idea that the main purpose is to have a few prestigious institutions in each main field.(1)

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1) Graduate training, particularly doctoral programmes, requires concentration of resources in a relatively limited number of institutions, to build centres of excellence. But this must not be achieved at the expense of institutions catering for undergraduate students.

The Examiners would favour a relatively egalitarian inter-institutional structure, requiring active measures to counteract the tendency towards increased quality differentiation. The price of so-called "excellence" of a few institutions at the expense of institutions catering for the great mass of students at the undergraduate level is far too high to pay for a very dubious gain. Acceptance of this viewpoint would imply doubts about the validity of prevailing notions that the emergence of a few prestige institutions is in the "national interest".

The reader will have noted that the Examiners consider that efforts might be well spent in building up the quality and prestige of the French-language universities so that their standing is equal to that of the best of the English-language institutions in North America (see p. 62).

Reasonable controls over the general financial level of each institution and some direction in terms of capital investments should be quite sufficient in terms of securing the genuine interests of provincial policies. If universities are not permitted to commit their own errors, even to a somewhat greater extent than other institutions, there would really be reasons to doubt their right to exist. To some extent, the same applies to other non-university institutions at this level, in spite of the fact that their strictly academic standards may be low. A loosening of provincial controls over such institutions is probably desirable.

Inter-university co-operation

Most provinces have established higher education councils, or commissions, to assist the Ministries in the complicated questions of financing and organisational forms. There exist also the universities' own conferencing groups at provincial and national levels. Some good beginnings in inter-provincial co-operation are evident, for example, in the work of the Maritime Provinces Higher Education Commission. All these efforts point to the need for better co-operation, but do not seem to be able to achieve exactly what is needed.(1) The regional commissions and university associations tend to avoid discussion and decision in contentious areas, and their resolutions are apparently often ignored, when so desired, by individual institutions. It is noteworthy that this year some universities have refused to pay their membership dues to the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, as a signal of their dissatisfaction with AUCC performance. In addition, the Examiners received the impression that such organisations as AUCC are too often ignored by the relevant authorities when decisions concerning universities and community colleges are made, and they are not drawn closely enough into partnership relations with governmental authorities.

The universities have so far not succeeded in defining unambiguously their joint and common role in society, and making clear and persuasive their case for a particular degree of institutional autonomy and an unchallenged claim on society's resources. Canadian universities and their costs have been exposed to a growing level of criticism. To the degree that these attacks are unjustified they need to be opposed collectively with all necessary firmness and determination. This requires strengthened co-operation and solidarity among the universities, and at all levels.

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1) An informative and insightful discussion of what has been done, and what is still needed in the realm of inter-university planning is to be found in Bernard Trotter and A.W.R. Carrothers, Planning for Planning - Relationships between Universities and Governments: Guidelines to Process. Ottawa: Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 1974

The most serious aspect of the tendency to tighten access to the universities may be a certain slackening of efforts by the universities to reach new, and usually less-privileged, groups. Behind many of the critical comments the Examiners heard, referring to "universities recruiting off the streets", lies discomfort exactly with the efforts of some universities and provincial administrations to encourage universities to undertake and persist in recruitment from ever wider social milieus.

Institutions of higher education need to face together the problems raised by wider recruitment patterns, and the Examiners fully concur with the conclusion of the Economic Council of Canada, in its Annual Report for 1970: "...it is urgent that strong and continuing efforts be made to define and clarify the aims and objectives of post-secondary education - both of particular institutions and of the larger systems in which they operate".

Financing and "rationalisation"

The growth of university enrolments that marked the 1960s has now subsided. The financing formulas that encouraged expansion are everywhere under reconsideration. The federal government bears about 55 per cent of the costs of financing the universities (direct provincial grants provide about 31 per cent, and about 14 per cent comes from university fees, endowment income and the like). At the present time, discussions are going forward between the federal government and the provincial governments concerning amendment of the arrangements for federal aid that have been in operation since 1967, and which will terminate, unless renewed, in March, 1977. These discussions ought to provide an occasion for improved exchange of information and co-operation between the federal and provincial governments.

These discussions ought, however, to be more than this. It is to be hoped that the opportunity will be taken to think through the advantages and disadvantages of the present system of providing the federal funds that eventually go to support university operations in the provinces. At present, entitlement to funds from Ottawa is calculated as a percentage (50 per cent) of the expenditures in each province on higher education, though there is a somewhat transparent convention that these federal subsidies are not transfers for higher education. They are supposed to disappear into each province's treasury, where they commingle with other funds, and emerge in some way "provincialised" and are no longer distinguishable as federal funds. All this is harmless enough - except that it has the unfortunate effect that, while the provinces relate to the federal government financially, this form of relationship has not included a careful and systematic co-ordination by the provinces of their higher education plans. This was never in Canada a very strongly developed approach, but in the Examiners' view, it would be unfortunate if present discussions about the extension of the 1967 federal subsidy arrangements simply confined themselves to bargaining over the exact percentage to be fixed to the cost-sharing formula, and did not grasp the necessity to establish ways of defining and co-ordinating provincial, federal, and national interests and policies in higher education.

While the financing of the current expenditures of universities should certainly continue to be a largely federal-provincial matter, in the financing of research there are great advantages to be had from direct contacts between the universities and the relevant federal authorities. Other ways of transacting business are too complicated and time-wasting, and in questions of research financing the granting agencies need to have special technical expertise. The attention now being given by the federal authorities to strengthening the financial support given to the humanities and the social sciences (until now somewhat neglected) meets with the Examiners' emphatic approval.

The demand for greater economy and more "rationalisation" in the operation of the universities is understandable in times of financial stringency. But one has to proceed carefully here. "Efficiency" versus "quality" are not helpful alternatives for universities. The leading principle of the academic university is variety and complexity, and not the isolation of specialised disciplines. During the decade of expansion, growth of research and teaching often took place without much regard for the costs which would ensue, and it may now be necessary (and possible) to eliminate some offerings, through better co-ordination and the avoidance of unnecessary duplication. But this should never result in the failure to introduce important new teaching and research ventures, simply because one does not have the courage to go forward given new restrictions on expenditures. It would be especially unfortunate if financial constraints were used as an excuse for not pushing ahead vigorously with the development of bilingual training programmes and course offerings in the minority language.

Graduate programmes

Until quite recently, Canada relied on foreign programmes at the graduate level to supply much of the highly trained manpower she needed. Canadians went abroad to seek graduate studies, and there was large-scale immigration of graduate trained personnel for the universities, industry and government. Thus, as late as 1960, enrolments in Canadian universities at the graduate level (master's and doctoral degree students combined) equalled only 6,500 persons full-time and 3,800 part-time. The intervening decade-and-a-half since 1960-61 has seen a very large growth from these low levels. In 1974-75, it is estimated that full-time graduate students numbered 37,350, and part-time nearly 24,000 - a six-fold increase. Modest increases are projected for the immediate future, too. In 1973-74, nearly 2,000 doctoral degrees were granted in Canada, compared with 300 in 1960-61. Also, 10,318 masters' degrees were granted in 1973-74, compared with 2,227 in 1960-61.

There is a high level of geographical and institutional concentration in doctoral enrolment: a recent survey showed about one-half of all doctoral students in 1972-73 as enrolled in Ontario.

Given that there are no less than 3,000 different graduate programmes (one-third of them at the doctoral level) listed at over 40 Canadian universities in the 1974-75 academic year, a certain dispersion of effort leading to problems of cost and quality of programmes may be assumed.

Qualitative improvement of the teaching staff at Canadian universities has gone ahead steadily. In 1960, only 38 per cent on the full-time faculty had a doctoral degree. That figure now averages about 60 per cent, though there are wide variations according to discipline. For example, in chemistry, 90 per cent; in the other natural sciences, typically over 80 per cent; in the humanities and social sciences, from 50 per cent to 70 per cent; in nursing, law, and architecture, well under 20 per cent. Thus, the prospects for university employment of holders of new doctorates in the natural sciences are quite poor, for these departments are well-stocked with relatively young faculties a long way from retirement age. Perhaps, some of the humanities and social science areas may be expected to absorb more doctoral graduates as the process of upgrading the qualifications of teaching and research staffs continues, but this cannot proceed quickly. Thus, it is difficult to be at all certain about employment prospects in general for new graduates, and there is need for comprehensive research into the job opportunities for highly qualified academics inside and outside the universities and community colleges.

It is estimated that in 1972-73 approximately 64 per cent of university teaching staff were Canadian citizens, 15 per cent were citizens of the United States, and 9 per cent were from the United Kingdom. Hence, the much discussed problem of the large numbers of non-Canadian university teachers will presumably solve itself as more young qualified Canadians are trained and become available. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in 1972-73 about 46 per cent of the full-time students enrolled in Ph.D. programmes were not Canadian citizens.

Community colleges

All forecasts estimat that the notable growth of community colleges (from an enrolment of 53,000 to 220,600 in 15 years) will continue at least until 1980.

If community colleges are sensibly developed, they will represent the most attractive educational policy achievement made in Canada. Already they are taking on the aspect of an oasis, to which old and young who have a particular need may turn at any time. Their strengths lie in:

- access for the widest group of citizens;
- adaptability to local and individual demands;
- capacity to perform "general services" for the community.

Further development of the community colleges and the other non-university higher education institutions requires attention to the following points:

- Elimination of the conception of community colleges as waste-baskets or holding areas for students unwanted by the universities. This will be a major task in a number of provinces, where the hierarchical division between universities at the apex and the community colleges at the base is much in evidence.
- The co-operative links between all the community colleges in a province, and also across provincial boundaries, should be significantly strengthened. A beginning has been made by the Association of Canadian Community Colleges, but it is not as yet sufficiently financed and staffed.
- There should be regular discussions among the provincial Ministries concerning future plans and the evaluation of experience. There should be reciprocal recognition of diplomas and certificates of completion. A general improvement of statistical series relative to community colleges is urgently needed.
- The governance of community colleges is often tied closely to local or provincial education authorities. In order to facilitate the development of the colleges, a greater degree of autonomy is desirable in many instances. Boards of governors need to be created, where necessary, and existing boards should be strengthened. It is particularly important that student and faculty representations be strengthened.
- There is need to strengthen community college offerings in many of the courses that are not directly connected with vocational skills, and attendance at these courses needs encouragement. Realisation of the Canadian intention to become a bilingual nation requires the contribution of community colleges in providing programmes that are tied to life-experience.
- Co-operative work with neighbouring universities should be intensified. This can be done through improved exchange of

information, improved channels of transfer of students in each direction, and better utilisation of costly equipment and facilities. All this needs to go forward on both provincial and federal levels.

- The qualifications of teachers in community colleges and their career-long educational up-grading need to be improved.
- As far as not already offered, all community colleges should arrange for part-time as well as full-time opportunities for vocational training, and further adult education offerings.

VII. GOVERNMENTS, GOALS, AND POLICY MAKING

The final chapter of the Examiners' Report is devoted to the questions of the Federal government's role in education, interprovincial co-operation in educational policy making, and the importance of spelling out goals for educational policy in Canada. These are all questions of the greatest political sensitivity. The Examiners do not wish to avoid them, nor could they, because in the course of the Examination they arose much more frequently than one could have predicted simply from a reading of the six Background Reports that were prepared for the OECD Examination.

The following observations, therefore, should not be regarded as trying to interfere in political matters, nor as an exercise in superior wisdom, but as a necessary part of the fulfilment of the Examiners' duties.

The Federal government and education

Officially, there is *no* Federal presence in the area of educational policy, and the Federal government behaves (at least in public) as if there were none. Not only is there no Federal authority with the word "Education" in its title, but the Federal Parliament eschews all debates that might bear on educational policy. Even reflection on educational policy happens at the Federal level only behind closed doors.

In reality, though, the educational policies of the Federal government, and the financial concomitants of that policy, cannot be overlooked. A considerable Federal presence in educational policy is indeed tolerated by the Provinces and arouses no hostility, as long as nobody calls it educational policy, and as long as there are no overt strings attached to money coming from Ottawa.

This "Do-One-Thing-*As-If*-It-Were-Something-Else" attitude does not please all Canadians, some of whom describe it as "intolerable" and "almost schizophrenic". But to some extent, behaviour that strikes outsiders as elaborate make-believe may, in fact, be a necessary

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1) For example, deliberations about restructuring post-secondary financing were considered to be so secret that it was not possible even for the Examiners to discover any traces of what was happening.

price, willingly paid to hold together a political confederation of disparate Provinces - and therefore understandable and even functional. Certainly, no change can come from the Federal side. This means that nothing will be changed, unless some far-seeing Provinces make use of an appropriate opportunity to make the first step in the direction of open co-operation, openly acknowledged; or unless the public becomes aggressively dissatisfied with the present reluctance to call a spade a spade, and forces those responsible to make changes.

Federal funds, granted for wholely or largely educational purposes, either through the Provinces, or directly to institutions, are made available in large amounts under many programmes (see Table 10).

The subsidies of the Federal government, most of which are channelled through the Provinces amounted to about $ 2.5 billion in 1975, comprising about 10 per cent of educational expenditures at all levels of government (see Table 11).

Why does the Federal government do this ? Are these expenditures really only "Aid for the solution of other political tasks", as the official explanation runs, or is it that the education of a modern nation represents a basic national interest, for which there must inevitably exist a considerable national responsibility?

Clearly, some basic elements of *national responsibility* arise because, in Canada today, as in all modern states:

- education is a *right of each citizen*, due to each citizen irrespective of his place of residence;
- the *standards* maintained by schools community colleges and universities are of national interest, because a large part of scientific-technical achievement and hence economic and social well-being may depend on them;
- *unity of the educational system* is a national interest, in order to maintain and guard the freedom of choice (via mobility) of citizens;
- the *educational philosophy of an educational system and the principles underlying its operation* are matters of national interest, because cultural and national consciousness depend on it.

Each of the tasks listed would almost compel some participation by the national government. The last named task is of such great importance for the future of Canada that it must be emphasized. The search for a "Canadian identity" will not be fruitful if it is not grounded firmly in education. While efforts to develop a curriculum for instruction in Canadian Studies are praiseworthy, it is widely recognised in Canada that such courses and other related activities, such as playing the national anthem at the beginning of the school day, will not suffice. Again, a specifically Canadian identity is not likely to arise simply out of a wish to be different from the United States. It will come permanently only when knowledge, values and attitudes have so taken root that a critical mass of common attitudes has been guaranteed.(1)

Table 10

FEDERAL EXPENDITURES IN SUPPORT OF EDUCATION
AND UNIVERSITY RESEARCH
1972 - 73

Department and/or programmes	Total ($'000)
Fiscal Transfers for Post-Secondary Education	987,030.0
Department of Indian and Northern Affairs	105,235.0
Department of National Defence	62,779.0
Federal Prison Service	416.0
Occupational Training of Adults	310,611.[illegible]
Citizenship & Language Instruction Agreements	775.7
Textbook Agreement	120.6
Teaching of Official Languages	62,883.2
Department of Regional Economic Expansion	13,313.0
Research Grants and Fellowships	121,302.0
Contracts	7,504.7
Excise Tax Exemption	23,000.0
Canada Student Loans Plan	34,023.0
Allowances, Bursaries, Scholarships and Fellowships	28,390.3
Income Tax Reductions	84,000.0
Other Programmes	98,944.7
Total	1,940,328.5

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1) Looked at in this way, the schools' role in achieving bilingualism, for example, is transformed from a utilitarian necessity to a national opportunity, and an enrichment of the idea of a Canadian identity. For the intellectual and cultural strengths of francophone Canada are too rich and varied for Canada to do without them and be true to its historical and cultural origins.

Table 11

EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION (INCLUDES ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY, TERTIARY AND FURTHER EDUCATION) BY SOURCE OF FUNDS, PROVINCES (1972) AND CANADA (1972 to 1975)

	Total ($'000)	Federal (1) %	Provincial %	Municipal %	Fees + other %	Federal transfers payment ($'000,000)
Newfoundland	165,009	14.2	76.6	0.6	5.6	17.9
Prince Edward Island	39,611	20.3	65.9	6.3	7.5	4.0
Nova Scotia	265,094	13.3	57.3	21.6	7.8	24.7
New Brunswick	218,678	11.9	82.3	-	5.8	27.4
Quebec	2,351,745	9.5	63.3	20.0	7.2	347.3
Ontario	3,425,167	8.6	59.1	22.4	9.9	390.0
Manitoba	365,400	10.4	56.4	24.1	9.1	41.3
Saskatchewan	305,544	13.5	50.7	27.7	8.1	34.3
Alberta	634,937	10.2	58.9	22.9	8.0	88.9
British Columbia	740,393	12.0	58.5	22.3	7.2	72.1
Yukon	11,349	19.8	79.0	-	1.2	-
Northwest Territories	29,980	3.4	93.9	2.4	0.3	-
Overseas + Undistributed	78,402	83.7	-	-	16.3	-
Canada 1972	8,695,305	10.7	60.2	20.7	8.4	1057.9
1973	9,514,717	10.5	61.2	19.9	8.4	1143.2
1974	10,591,341	10.2	62.4	19.8	7.6	1309.0
1975	12,228,305	10.1	64.1	18.4	7.4	1501.3

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1) Excludes Federal transfers to the Provinces for post-secondary education and for the minority language programme, being a total of $1057.9 million in 1972. Inclusion of these Federal transfers raises the Federal proportion from 10.7 to 22.9 % and reduces the Provincial proportion from 60.2 to 48.0 %.

The fact that there is, and apparently can be, no Federal Department of Education has created a kind of vacuum in educational policy at the higher federal decision-making level. This empty space is invaded by federal agencies responsible for "neighbouring" policy areas: manpower policy, general economic policy, regional development policy, science research policy, social policy, foreign policy, and so forth. Typically, such agencies tend to view education as an instrument for their particular missions, and not as a field of policy in its own right.

Education is always seen as a tool for "something else" and decisions relating to education are mostly made by "someone else". The absence of an agency primarily concerned with balancing off the variety of interests concerned with educational activities (which is, in fact, a definition of educational policymaking) leaves the arena open for conquest by the strongest neighbouring agency, without the checks and balances usually found in public administration.

The assignment of a co-ordination role for educational activities at the Federal level to the Department of the Secretary of State may be viewed as an effort to police Federal administrative competitors in their penetration into the educational no-man's land. Yet there is to date no sign of a coherent Federal policy for education emerging, nor much evidence of success in ironing out inconsistencies and even outright contradictions among various parts of the total federal effort in education. Interministerial co-ordination, conducted at a middle level of civil servants, probably cannot be expected to offer more. Nor does the current trend of curtailing the budget and manpower allocations for the Education, Culture and Science Division of Statistics Canada augur well for the development of consistent federal policy in the educational realm.(1) Above all, there is need for comprehensive, policy-oriented, and timely statistical data on just what is transpiring in education in Canada. Statistics Canada cannot do that job properly unless it allocates sufficient resources to its education-related endeavours.

In the Canadian case it is clear enough that the strongest concerns which have justified Federal penetration into the education field have been those of economic policy. This is quite naturally a major political concern in Canada, as well as in other countries. In addition, however, the Canadian situation is characterised by an extra emphasis on economic concerns at the Federal level, probably because the undisputed mandate of the Federal government in this area

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1) In November 1975 after these comments were written, the Government of Canada announced a far-reaching programme of economic controls designed to deal with the persistent wage and price inflation. The policy included efforts to moderate the rate of growth of public expenditure, at all levels of government.

forms the essential basis for the assertion of federal competence in many other areas. The tendency to see all federal programmes as auxiliaries of economic policy appears to be strong, and more recent concern for aspects of the "quality of life" other than those measured by GNP statistics, does not seem to have had a marked impact on Federal policy thinking. Political philosophies deeply entrenched in an existing bureaucracy are not that easily changed, in spite of emerging new signals in political circles.

More concretely, it is fairly obvious that the massive federal support to higher education in the late 1960s was mainly motivated by faith in education as an important factor in economic growth. Present doubts about the value of continued support on this scale are not caused by any failure of the programme, which has certainly produced a major expansion of post-secondary education. Nor is the argument that success now has made the programme too costly very convincing. The slowing down of post-secondary expansion in recent years does not indicate a programme that has run out of control financially. References to inflation in this context are probably quite irrelevant to federal allocation priorities, and complaints about "lower quality" and lack of "accountability" have the ring of weak excuses. Nothing that has happened in post-secondary education was not more or less foreseen when the present support programme was initiated. It is reasonably clear that present doubts about the continuation of financial support for post-secondary education stem from a loss of faith in education as a direct promoter of immediate economic growth, possibly reinforced by the fairly global disenchantment in established circles about the behaviour of students and intellectuals.

The present arrangement whereby the federal government helps equalise local property tax contributions for primary and secondary education appears primarily to be an encouragement for greater use of this local fiscal source, though that was clearly not the Minister of Finance's intention when local tax equalisation was introduced.

As far as the Examiners were able to penetrate the complexities of federal equalisation of provincial tax resources, the present arrangements may in some respects (and particularly with respect to entitlements based on post-secondary expenditures) actually reinforce, rather than attenuate, inequality among the provinces. This is a not unexpected result of what are tantamount to federal cost-sharing programmes, that reward the wealthier provinces with more dollars the more they spend on approved purposes, such as higher education. It is important, too, to bear in mind the possibility that federal money is used simply to replace provincial funds, and may not produce any total expansion of spending for education at all.

The application of the so-called "active manpower policy" through federal inputs to manpower training seems primarily oriented towards adapting existing manpower resources to whatever needs the economy might have at the moment. There are few signs of change in this orientation. The Provinces still strongly emphasize more "employer oriented" training. The social elements involved in the principles advocated by the OECD, both in terms of reaching severely underprivileged persons, and as a direct attack on unemployment, do not appear to be the prime motives of federal efforts in this field. Concern for increasing the GNP takes precedence over socially-oriented employment policies.

Federal research policies were introduced to the Examiners with a strong reference to the Review of Science Policy in Canada conducted by the OECD in 1969, which saw a federal role in research policy primarily as a means of promoting economic growth and technological expansion. In practice the procedures actually established by the research councils may have considerably modified such policy concerns to conform better with traditional university ideas related to the basic sciences. Yet the overwhelming emphasis is on the natural sciences and technology, and special measures by the federal government beyond research council operations are clearly technology-oriented.(1) The policies followed in granting federal research support clearly enhance quality differentiation among higher education institutions, in an attempt to create a few "centres of excellence" of international standing, inevitably at the expense of the majority of higher education institutions (see p. 82, footnote). The Examiners could not determine how far such approaches are opposed and how far they find support in academic circles, and also at the political level. Nevertheless, policies of qualitative differentiation are clearly supported by Ontario and Nova Scotia, and probably also by Alberta, and the policies followed in federal research funding also support this pattern.

Even the federal programme of loans to students seems, at least initially, to have had a strong economic motivation, based on the assumption that it would help to release untapped reserves of talent. As in many other countries, such concerns probably conformed well with more general social objectives.

Currently federal policy regarding continued financial transfers for educational activities faces two main questions:

- Should federal efforts in this field be more orientated towards goals other than the maintenance of a high rate of growth of the GNP?

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1) This was clearly an important element in motivating federal involvement in creating a market for the electronics industry in Canadian education.

- Will the forms of support chosen be constructed in a way more compatible with the official statements concerning the objectives of education in general?

Underlying these two questions may be a third: Should Federal resources presently devoted to education and training be reallocated to other fields of policy which may now have a higher priority? In the Examiners' view, it would be most undesirable if consideration of these important questions were to go forward at the federal level alone, without systematic consultation with the provinces as a whole.

At present, discussions, negotiations and agreements between the federal government and the provinces in educational matters tend to go forward on a bilateral or piecemeal basis. This procedure may answer certain provincial (and federal) political needs, but it has unfortunately also made much more difficult the task of making something more systematic out of the highly fractionated structure of education in Canada. The need now is to put in place greatly improved mechanisms for inter-provincial co-operation, and for federal-provincial discussion and co-operation on a multilateral basis.

Inter-provincial co-operation

In the framework of the OECD Examination it is not possible to inquire to what extent Section 93 of the British North America Act is in fact an insuperable barrier to change. However, there have been some interesting statements made in this regard, notably by J.A. Corry, a respected constitutional lawyer, who doubts that this is so, and has said so in the following words :

> "...So whatever the dilemma about education in the Canadian federation is, it is not a constitutional one. Indeed S.93 is a model of flexibility. Whenever it becomes clear that special educational provision is needed to carry out responsibilities undertaken by Parliament in the exercise of its exclusive powers in S.91, Parliament is entitled to make that provision by whatever means and instrumentalities are required in the circumstances. As so often turns out in this country, obstacles to action that are declared to be formidable constitutional barriers turn out to be merely political. That may not make the problem any easier to deal with but at least one can make a start by removing the "no trespassing" signs and opening up Federal-Provincial consultations". 1)

Indeed, who can maintain seriously that the fathers of the BNA Act had ruled against sensible inter-provincial and federal-provincial co-operation in the field of educational policy?

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1) J.A. Corry, "Jurisdiction under the Constitution in Education in Canada".

The political situation at present absolutely excludes the possibility of a solution via constitutional change. That a single educational authority should be established, under the auspices of the provinces and the federal government (as a number of respected organisations are demanding), may be highly desirable but it is not likely to happen. That the mostly diligent and responsible national interest groups in the educational policy field (for example, The Canadian Education Association), which form at the moment the main all-Canada educational policy forces, could undertake this catalytic task on a permanent basis, is an illusion. Nevertheless, all their projects and efforts leading to more co-operation and a wider perspective should receive undiminished support.

In the end, there remains only the path of an insightful, careful, but nevertheless purposeful rapprochement, as it was put to the Examiners in numerous conversations. Mechanisms for co-operation have to be developed. This appears to the Examiners to be a good definition of the next step to be taken.

The first phase of this would be a Council of Ministers of Education that was more able to function effectively, and with a staff that must be greatly strengthened in numbers. The Council of Ministers, now eight years old, stands at a critical decision point. Either it will continue to confine its functions to virtually that of a private meeting place for Ministers and their representatives (which is the impression conveyed to the Examiners by many groups and representatives, who did not conceal their disappointment at what they termed the ineffectiveness, secrecy and lack of accessibility with which the CMEC has conducted its business); or the provinces must decide to develop a Council in which all important matters are co-ordinated, receive further development, and are then presented to the public and to the Federal government.

The minutes of the Examiners' meetings and conversations reveal that without exception all organisations, as well as most spokesmen for educational institutions, are demanding more and better trans-provincial co-operation and goal setting. There was not one voice that regarded such co-operation as an infringement on provincial sovereignty and independence.(1)

The second phase should lead to tangible co-operation between the Council and the federal government in settling specific questions: for example, the improvement of bilingual disparities via school-related measures, the integration of vocational and general

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1) In the development of this attitude, the steadily improving educational statistics series published by Statistics Canada has made a decisive contribution, by helping to illuminate the facts about education in Canada as a whole. Also, see comments on p. 93 above.

education, the systematic support of educational research, the restructuring of university and community college financial aid, and so forth.

Close attention should be paid to the desirability of developing the Council of Ministers of Education into a national forum for the working out of educational policies, so that the Federal government may be involved in a systematic and open manner in discussions of educational policy that transcend Provincial boundaries.

In the third phase this co-operative work should be extended to educational policy elements having an all-Canadian viewpoint. The task is to accommodate the different, and often conflicting, aspirations of francophone and anglophone Canada, of the older Eastern regions and the new Western areas, of the taxpayers and the professional groups in education - to mention only the most obvious sources of disagreement about policies. The disagreements cannot simply be glossed over, and no amount of simple goodwill can eliminate them as sources of conflict. But, given that they are faced openly for what they are, the Examiners are confident that Canadian political acumen can deal with them in a constructive and positive way.

Goals and educational policy

Judging from the Examiners' experience in Ontario and the Western Provinces, the lack of educational policies for the future is striking. Some exceptions to this general experience, primarily in Manitoba and British Columbia, are to be noted. The general tone of policy making appears to be adaptations to short-term pressures, doing a little more of what already has been done, and above all pressing for economies and reductions of expenditures. Closer ties between the output of the educational system and assumed manpower needs may be an example of such short-term adaptations, while repeated references to "quality education" seem to be more a reaction to reduced selectivity within the educational system than a carefully thought-through educational policy.

It is a fairly general experience that policies firmly controlled by established power groups rarely need to be based on long-term planning orientated towards alternative future scenarios. Planning in such a situation is usually restricted to the programming of policy implementation in order to secure coherence within the system, possibly supplemented by long-term projections, typically in the form of linear trend prolongations. "More of the same" is the usual future vision under such circumstances.

Planning for alternative futures implying more profound system changes is usually only initiated by groups without an established power position. They may be opposition groups whose access to power has been recent and whose hold on office is uncertain. This would explain the elements of genuine long-term thinking found in British Columbia and Manitoba. It may also be a case of permanent minority groups fighting against superior forces to maintain their minority rights, as Quebec Province sees its position in the country as a whole.

Such factors offer a more convincing explanation of the apparent general lack of future perspectives in Canadian educational policy than jurisdictional peculiarities, particular features of the Canadian economy (a natural resource-based economy, and economic dependence upon the United States), "traditional attitudes", and so forth.

The lack of future perspectives is also reflected in the absence of clear, detailed statements of goals for the educational system.

The Background Reports for the OECD Review state goals in very general terms. Only Quebec's Report is an exception.

For example, the Ontario Background Report states (para. 66):

> "...there are likely as many statements of goals and objectives as there are educational agencies".

and, (para. 68):

> "The stated goal of the Ministry of Education is 'the attainment of educational quality and equality for all'. The Ministry fosters a wide range of opportunities so that every individual may experience a worthwile education and may have access to further educational experience consistent with his needs and those of society".

But the reality is not that simple. For, in paras. 70 and those following, the Ministry views itself as having a great deal of initiative (no bad thing, of course), and also of control (which fits somewhat less the picture given of the supposed system): inspection, evaluation and approval of programmes, control over teacher training, evaluation of curriculum materials, and so forth. Then the question arises: How can one control (which means to say: accept/refuse/impose/delay/limit) without having some criteria, some standards? And how can one have some criteria without having goals? Para. 71 affirms rather optimistically:

> "...since these objectives are essential to any good education system, it is probable their intent is in some way expressed in any statement of school board objectives".

The Background Report for the Western Region (para. 45) states:

> "Official statements of provincial educational authorities, while replete with detailed descriptions of aims and objectives of basic education, do not ordinarily emphasize or elaborate the general aims of the educational system as a whole, probably

> because the very nature of the relationship of education to society does not permit the luxury of a definitive statement which will be valid even in the short-run future... In the realm of higher education, traditionally further removed from the scope of public education authorities, official statements of general purposes are even less common and definitive".

The Background Report of the Atlantic Provinces is also not explicit concerning goals. After having emphasized that institutions of education confront the difficulty of locating education within many social uncertainties and of reconsidering their traditional role as an instrument of society, the Report falls back upon the following as the general goal of the system:

> "... to provide equal educational opportunity for all educable youth and adults to the extent that skills and abilities may be instilled or developed".

The double restriction on equal opportunity is worthy of note.

Thus, the educational goals pursued by the provincial authorities (except Quebec) are expressed only in general terms: supporting quality education; assuring equality of access, etc. This approach, which is reaffirmed more or less in all the Reports, contains some problems.

First and foremost, it is in contradiction with the facts: the provincial authorities have played a very important role in determining not only the quantitative development of the system, but also the educational orientation taken since 1960. At the local level, in most cases, the school boards have been reinforced by administrative and pedagogical services which, in effect, exercise the real power either under the control of the Provinces, or in any case in close liaison with them. This creates a somewhat ambiguous situation and may be the source of a certain "bad conscience" on the part of the central authorities and of bad temper among the local authorities and those who are the objects of central administration.

Absence of a carefully stated guiding purpose could be accepted in an era when the school was considered to be representative of the social will of the community (whether large or small) out of which the school had originated. But is it any longer justified in an era when it is widely recognised that society is caught up in profound change and uncertainty?

Put another way: Do not the responsible central authorities have to take the necessary steps to reconstitute the lost consensus, to help find something which could take its place, that could serve as the general goal of, and thus the criteria for, educational decisions?

Failing this, there is the risk of mistaking the means for the end; that is to say, of taking as goals matters which are really nothing but means, of falling into a sort of methodological formulism, where innovations of structure and new methods of instruction follow one after the other, because they have been judged only by reference to themselves and their immediate practical results, without reference to any overall philosophy of education.

A general philosophy of sorts does appear to be presented in the Background Reports and in the discussions the Examiners had, though in a rather diffuse fashion. There is a new consensus emerging, for example, around the necessity to lead pupils and students towards autonomy, liberty, creativity and, therefore, on the necessity of educating them with an eye to flexibility and divergence. The question is: What strategy is to be adopted to achieve this goal?

Three elements of such a strategy appear to the Examiners to be basic. They are: Building Knowledge, Building Capabilities and Building Consensus.

Building Knowledge. Research is certainly one of the weakest areas of the Canadian educational system. There is a considerable amount of research but it is either narrowly pedagogical or vaguely philosophical. There is very little research on the basic socio-pedagogic problems that have emerged. The Examiners strongly recommend that research be strengthened in these areas, especially on the opportunities of using education by underprivileged groups, and the limits to that use; on the schools as complex social systems with alternative modes of social control; and on the relationships between schools and communities.

Building Capabilities Great attention must be given to teacher training. Some most difficult social problems are emerging in Canada. The need to build the human resources to face them is pressing. This is nowhere more evident than in education. Similarly, institutional capability should be recognised as a basic problem and attempts to improve it should be made consciously.

Building Consensus. Knowledge and capabilities are necessary to create the climate for change but they cannot be effective and will not even be developed beyond a certain point if no consensus among those interested in education develops.

To build consensus, broad publicity should be given to the exploration of alternative ideas for dealing with newly emerging problems, especially in the areas of the life-chances of underprivileged persons, the school as a community institution, and the provision of high quality educational services for all groups in the population.

The aim should be to raise such problems from the level of diffused public feelings of dissatisfaction to that of a definite and active public concern, combined with a consensus about how these problems will be dealt with. The road to broader consensus inevitably runs through a period of more explicit recognition of basic differences, when latent conflicts are brought out into the open. Only through such a process can it be expected that a more broadly-based consensus will be reached.

It is at once obvious that discussion of such goals and of the means to achieve them are highly political activities. There is a rather fearful, even tortuous avoidance of "politics" in Canadian educational discussions which appears to occur not simply from a feeling of respect or inadequacy vis-à-vis the complexities of the Canadian scene.

This the real crisis of Canadian educational policy - that it cannot maintain its non-political stance. The crisis could remain hidden, as long as it was over-shadowed by the impressive quantitative expansion of education. But now, in a period of slower expansion, the lack of generally binding propositions concerning the socio-political goals of education has the effect of producing a damaging uncertainty about the meaning and purpose of the vast Canadian educational enterprise.

This uncertainty may be noted in other countries, too, but probably nowhere as openly evident and unchallenged as in Canada. The perceptibly growing public unwillingness to support seemingly endless increases in expenditures for education, especially in the face of new, perhaps even costlier, social tasks, is a warning that should be taken seriously. This unwillingness will continue to increase as long as the public is not given a clear understanding of the social goals of real importance that are to be achieved using this expensive educational enterprise.

The further development of Canadian educational policy is therefore clearly approaching a danger zone, in which more is at risk than simply the quantity of finance available. The virtues of an essentially pragmatic educational policy will be tested in the extreme. If those responsible for educational policy are not promptly able to base the development of school and education on a firm goal-orientated footing, then they risk being pushed to the side in the general political competition for resources.

Some of the national interest-groups, for example the Canadian Teachers Federation, are already active in this matter, but such groups cannot be expected to relieve the politicians and the governments of this responsibility.(1)

Politicians, parties and governments will not be able to avoid much longer taking some political stands, and that means also nation-

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1) The three-part document "On educational finance" of the CTF is a thoroughly thought-out, comprehensive and impressive example of the needed approach.

wide, and not simply province-orientated positions. They need to give Canadian answers to Canadian problems. *Without political leadership and responsibility - and after all neither of these is forbidden under the BNA Act - a severe backlash against future educational development in Canada may be unavoidable*.

The obvious location for the work that is necessary in this leadership role is the Council of Ministers of Education. The Examiners earnestly hope that the Council will be moved in the immediate future to recognise the problem and act on it.

The well-known question in *Alice in Wonderland* runs: "Cheshire-Puss", Alice began... "Would you tell me, please, which way I ought to go from here?". It was answered, as always, by: "That depends a good deal on where you want to get to". And this exchange fits exactly the present Canadian situation. Before the goal has been explicitly decided, no one, and certainly not the Examiners, can advise *which* way Canadian educational policy should go. And this goal cannot simply have a pragmatic content. However much, up to now, controversy may have been avoided and energy spared by concentration largely on quantitative expansion, these times are coming to an end. Decisions now have to be taken concerning the destination of the Canadian school system within an ordered view of the future of Canada as a nation.

Appendix A

AN EDUCATION-EXPENDITURE DEFLATOR(1)

There is no suitable common index currently available to handle inflation in education.

The deflator used to give all figures in constant 1960-61 dollars was developed from two indices.

Since wages constitute two-thirds of the Board of Education operating costs, the Industrial Composite Index of Average Weekly Earnings for Canada was used with a weighting factor of 2. (Ontario Statistical Review - 1973).

Since Boards of Education are able to buy in bulk, the General Wholesale Prices Index was taken to cover all other expenses, with a weighting factor of 1. (Ontario Statistical Review - 1973).

Both indices were taken to base year 1961.

For each index values of two years were averaged:

	Industrial Composite %	Wholesale Prices %	Weighted Education Deflator %
1960-61	98.5	99.5	98.8
1965-66	119.7	109.3	116.2
1969-70	156.2	122.0	144.8
1970-71	169.0	123.6	153.9
1971-72	186.9	128.7	167.5
1972-73	204.8	147.3	185.6
1973-74	221.8	179.5	207.7

The Weighted Education Deflator was then adjusted so that 1960-61 became the base year (i.e. 1960-61 = 100 per cent).

1960-61	100.0 %
1965-66	117.6
1969-70	146.6
1970-71	155.8
1971-72	169.[illegible]
1972-73	187.8
1973-74	210.2

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1) Prepared by the Planning and Research Branch, Ontario Ministry of Education (Director: Mr. H.E. Gillies) at the request of the Examiners.

Statistics Canada might wish to consider the construction of a more precise set of education-cost indicators, tailored not only to the major inputs purchased by educational institutions, but also to each of the major levels of education. This would greatly improve the effort to keep track of changes over time in the level of real resources used, net of the effect of changes in prices.

Appendix B

INDUSTRIALISATION OF EDUCATION

It is interesting to note how far many Canadian schools have moved towards a traditional industrial concept of the organisation of educational services. More importantly, nearly everywhere the Examiners found a further development in this direction stated as the ideal model to aim for. It may be worthwhile to consider the main principles of such organisational forms.

The General Principles

The starting point within the schools is a traditional hierarchical organisation, often with some paternalistic features. The key concept in the development of industrial organisation is division of labour and responsibilities, leading to increasing specialisation. The "ideal" school should have specialist services in such fields as various forms of diagnosis of children, test preparation and interpretation, psychological guidance and counselling, development of curriculum and curriculum materials, documentation and library services, use of audio-visual materials, health services, various forms of learning difficulties and special handicaps, social and recreational activities, etc. The list could easily be made longer. In principle, such functions are assumed to be a service to the teacher in performing his/her job. In practice, however, the authority relationship between the specialist and the ordinary teacher is such that the specialists take over most relevant decisions concerning both the children and the functions of the ordinary teacher. There is little left for a teacher to do except to be with the children and to deliver pre-programmed teacher behaviours.

In order to restore authority balance, the teachers tend to develop roles as specialists in their own right. The traditional subject teachers can lean on the recognised authority of the established scientific disciplines. At teaching levels where such forms of specialisation are too obviously irrelevant for teaching, one gets the peculiar form of specialisation exemplified by such titles as, "specialist in fifth grade teaching". We see repeated the traditional features of industrial organisation, where every worker becomes a specialist on a specific aspect of the production process, although to call him a "specialist" is rather meaningless, because it is nearly impossible to see his specialized function in the context of the process as a whole.

Ideally speaking the various specialists within such a system should work together and find common solutions to problems concerning the process as a whole. In practice, this rarely happens, partly because none of the specialists have the ability to judge their own functions as they relate to the total process, but primarily because each group of specialists demands control over its particular function, without interference from "non-specialists". The so-called "services" or "staff functions" have developed into traditional decision-making units with exclusive authority typical of bureaucratic hierarchies. We get a caricature of a "professionalised" system, in which each little specialist group insists upon "professional" authority, as experts on their particular function.

The "general practitioner" within such a system regularly ends up at the bottom of the prestige hierarchy. Developments in the medical profession illustrate this perfectly. Here the general practitioner is at the point of being completely replaced by specialists on tiny elements of the human body or soul. The generalist function is partly taken care of by the nurses, but even here the specialisation tendency leaves little for the generalist except carrying trays and smiling at the patients. It has come to a point uncomfortably close to the role of airline cabin personnel, who also carry trays, smile at the passengers and make pre-programmed announcements. They provide a certain human touch, but are safely insulated from any possibility of influencing the system or making any kind of significant decision. As teachers escape from the generalist function within schools, volunteers and mothers may move in to perform a similar low-paid function without any authority.

It is a logical consequence of such organisations' forms that important decisions about pupils and children will always be taken with respect to a particular aspect of that child. The only persons who may have a chance of knowing the whole child are at the bottom of the decision-making ladder, without any authority to make such decisions. The child is handled as a piece of raw material, the properties of which have to be identified by the proper experts, and the proper treatment to be measured out according to similar expert prescriptions. The authority position of each expert group is in fact based on the assumption that the experts, and only the experts, know what is "right" for each child.

Consequences of the Industrialised School Organisation

One set of consequences relates to the social milieu of a school. The conviction that the largest possible number of specialist "services" is necessary, and that children have to be grouped in accordance with specific treatment criteria calls for very large school units. If for various reasons such units cannot be achieved, most essential expert decisions are localised at a higher organisational level, for example, within the school district administration. The principle of "economy of scale" is applied, without any questioning of the validity of the underlying assumption about organisational "technology". The consequences for relationships between schools and their environment will not be discussed here, although placing schools and specialist services long distances from local communities and individual families, involving extensive bussing and the social alienation of pupils may have harmful physical and mental consequences. In this context we shall concentrate mainly on consequences internal to the school.

Extensive use of subject specialisation and other specialist groups means that children meet a wide variety of adults each day, all of them more or less strangers. In addition, the introduction of grade specialists means a change of teacher every year, even at the lowest grades. Correspondingly, teachers and specialists see a large number of students every day, without a chance to get in more general contact with more than very few of them. At the same time, peer groups among the pupils are difficult to establish, and they are systematically broken up. Especially the weaker children are deprived of an essential form of support, while the brightest have little chance to communicate regularly with a normal distribution of children at their age. Nearly inevitably, the milieu will be extremely competitive, even when the most obvious symbols of success or failure are absent. It is not accidental that when the pupils are offered physical education - of course by "specialists" - it frequently takes the form of talent hunting for potential future professional stars. If we add to this the practical and human complexities of enormous school factories as seen through the eyes of a child, it provides a picture of a rather depressing social milieu, even if it may be somewhat easier to take for pupils approaching the end of the secondary school.

The implication in terms of social selection among children is probably substantial. It is conceivable that the differentiated treatment of individual children on the basis of detailed diagnosis as from the first grade, could help children who lag behind to catch up with the others. We have seen few signs, however, that such efforts are really being made. Most schools are deemed to be functioning well if children who are predicted to be slow learners, and who are given "appropriate materials", prove that the diagnosis is correct by lagging increasingly behind others. The kind of groupings applied and the differentiated materials used give little reason to believe anything else. In fact, within a system of this kind, the overwhelming probability is that the best resources will be devoted to the best performing children, unless very specific measures are taken to prevent it. The variety of specialists involved, and the lack of continuous follow-up of the individual child by a responsible teacher, points in the same direction.

Similar effects stem from the subject specialisation, including the maintenance of vocational programmes as separate and different "subjects". Organisational features as described above lead to the very early establishment of subject-based "departments", among which the pupils commute already from the age of twelve. In fact, the need for special "early childhood" - curricula up to grade III in order to integrate subject teaching, indicates that subject specialisation among teachers exists even before that stage. The implications of such specialisation for socially based selection follow from the differentiated value attached to credits in different programmes, especially in relation to further progress in the school system. It seems quite natural that many children at the age of 14 already have come to the point where the school finds vocational programmes as the only ones appropriate for them, and strongly directive counselling services make fairly certain that the verdict of the school is obeyed by the pupils and their parents. If not, the schools certainly have means of ensuring that they can be proved to have been right. Lay challenges to expertise are generally viewed as a serious matter.

This general situation throws considerable doubt on the validity of the ideology of "maximum choice" for pupils. In terms of level of progression, this appears to be a purely "professional" choice made by the school, which again largely determines the availability of relevant choices at later stages in schooling. Performance in IVth or Vth grade will form the basis for location in secondary school, which again determines access to the kind of credits that might open doors later on. Especially in secondary schools, there is a variety of choices based on personal hobby interests, but adapted to the child's assumed level of competence in a way that makes sure that the choice will not influence his future fate in school. Even for the brightest children, choices may be limited simply by the fact that consideration for their educational future more or less determines the more significant choices. The notion of the Canadian secondary schools as analogous to a supermarket may have to be considerably modified in the light of the extremely prescriptive "consumer counselling" that prevails.

A particular aspect, fully in line with the general philosophy underlying industrialisation of education, is the atomisation of potential collectives within the schools. If organised within the schools, specialist functions are mainly brought together in a separate department, and other varieties of specialisation hamper the development of broader collectives among the teachers. Perhaps more importantly, any tendency towards the forming of collectives among the students is effectively prevented, which again means that effective student participation in decisions about school affairs is practically impossible. Except in minor detail, "participation" becomes a matter of individual choice, and is permitted only in a strictly regulated context.

It is interesting to note that in industry, the organisational forms described here as traditional industrial organisation are beginning to go. This is especially true for industrial activities based on the expectation of any form of creative activity, but it is also increasingly so in more traditional forms of industrial production. There is a definite move away from extreme specialisation, towards far more generalist functions, often defined in terms of functions without individual job specifications. Many organised specialist functions are brought back to the "generalist" who is increasingly trained for a variety of functions. Control over a meaningful part of the production process is seen as important for any work group, and personal development in the job, mostly incompatible with specialised functions, is emphasized. Hierarchical structures are modified with the disappearance of certain levels of authority. Remaining "staff functions" are made to offer genuine service to operational units, without prescriptive decision-making functions. It is a basic but fairly typical paradox that service industries have adopted traditional features of manufacturing industries at a time when the manufacturing industry is on its way away from them.

Appendix C

VOCATIONAL TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

In two widely separated visits to vocational-technical schools in Winnipeg and Dartmouth, Nova Scotia(1) (students' ages range from just after compulsory school age to young adults in their twenties), a very interesting parallel was revealed. In both cases the school director applied the same rationale in the operation of these schools: the schools very self-consciously regard themselves as the opportunity - and the only opportunity - for these people to attain success in their schooling life which had, for the most part, eluded them in school up to the time of their entry into the vocational-technical school. The two schools prided themselves on their success in establishing the potential for school success of each of their entering students and tailoring their courses of study to the preparation of these students to do specific tasks in the economy - ranging from skills as effective short-order cooks to sophisticated techniques of design for buildings and other industrial or commercial wares.

However, what is most important is that in both cases, although these two schools were run in quite a different manner, the two directors defined the main role of their schools as therapeutic. Success in attaining skills and jobs after graduation were considered of practical importance, but these were regarded as a means to a much larger end - namely, the maturation and development of students' personalities in a way which had not been successfully promoted in the usual school setting. It could be considered significant that in the one case (Winnipeg) the school principal, before assuming this job, had been in the field of special education. However, the other principal, coming out of industry and from the other end of Canada (nor did they happen to know of each other or of each other's school) had arrived at the same conclusion. In almost the same words they announced that the major function of the school was to undo former developmental injury - even, perhaps "school injury" - in a school which constituted a new setting, and that the vocational aspects of the school were considered subordinate to this larger therapeutic end.

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1) The R.B. Russell School, Winnipeg and the Dartmouth Vocational High School, Dartmouth, Nova Scotia.

It is perhaps also significant that in both instances questioning and discussions suggested the conclusion that these schools have acquired exceptional social and political status in their communities, giving the schools a certain level of independence and freedom to develop their programmes.

Also in both cases there was evidence of a significantly larger demand for entrance into these schools than could be met. In the Dartmouth school, it would seem that the question of the gap in the educational spectrum at the non-university, post-compulsory-post-secondary level was particularly revealed in this demand. However, the demand also seemed to reflect the need and promise of success for any model at the secondary school level in which the characteristics of the students are primary in developing both content and style of education.

If a sizeable number of students can be helped by being given confidence in their own capacities once again, this seems to indicate:

- a lack of proper guidance in the regular schools, for the students usually arrive in the schools after having received a number of repeated checks that have strongly affected them;
- certain weakness in the composite schools, as they are generally conceived and organised in Canada. They apparently are not successful in achieving their goal of providing all children with the education that best fits them (see the Examiners' remarks in the text, pp. 43-44). A section of the school population is being given short shrift.

The parallel system provided by vocational schools often functions as a means of remedying certain earlier mishandling of a child's education. But the present schools neither suffice to take care of the entire demand, nor are they able, of course, to succeed in every case.

As the Examiners have pointed out, the role of practical and technical education in the education of Canada's young people needs vigorous and creative rethinking.

Appendix D

THE POLITICS OF BILINGUALISM

The Examiners have stressed in the text of the Report (pp. 59-62) their view that the issues of bilingualism and biculturalism are central problems for the very existence of a Canadian nation, as well as for the development of a Canadian national identity. Quite understandably they impose themselves very heavily on Canadian educational policy, as on other aspects on Canadian life. Bilingualism and biculturalism are not simply problems of federal-provincial relationships, or of social class and social equality, although there are elements of these more general problems contained within these issues in Canada.

The problem has two contradictory aspects. On one side, the situation of the two "founding" languages, French and English, is basically asymmetrical, that is, formal equality between the two languages will further weaken the weaker language of the two, French, which means that, unless it receives help, French is threatened and French-speaking Canadians feel they are justified in asking for special protection and in opposing all measures of centralisation and of reinforcement of the federal influence over education. This is a source of permanent difficulty for a country whose national identity is quite weak to begin with.

It may be useful to consider the problems of bilingualism and biculturalism within the context of general political theory about integration and segregation. The relevant principle is that when attempts are made to integrate two systems, one of which is weaker than the other, the lack of symmetry in bilateral relations will cause the integration process to weaken even further the weaker of the two parties. It may eventually become assimilated within a structure - in economic, social and cultural terms - not much different from that of the stronger party.

The maintenance of two different systems, each based on its own set of values, may in such a situation require a consistent effort at strengthening the weaker party, possibly in a way that would involve a number of segregationist measures. In conflict theory, such a restoration of symmetry between the partners is supposed to reduce tension, but not necessarily to lead to future integration. The latter remains an open question.

Applied to the Canadian situation, and particularly to the issue of bilingualism in the anglophone-francophone context, this may explain why a federal policy putting the main emphasis on the mutual acquisition of a second language, in order to permit all Canadians to communicate with each other, may be seen by the weaker partner in the bilingual conflict as a means of increasing the lack of symmetry between the two linguistic cultures. The weaker party would tend to emphasize the need to strenghten its position before moves are made towards integration, and even claim that integrationist moves towards individual bilingualism run counter to the idea of a generally bilingual country in the long run. The stronger party - the anglophones - may on the other hand point out that some level of integration is needed, even if only to create a better understanding among the anglophones of problems faced by the other party. Otherwise a policy of restoring symmetry between the two parties may appear incomprehensible and unacceptable to the majority of the Canadian population.

If the main objective is to maintain a Canadian nation in the abstract, without placing any special weight on the eventual francophone content of Canadian nationhood, it is extremely difficult to judge what strategy would be most appropriate in the present situation. For there is then no a priori reason to believe that emphasis on restoring symmetry in the bilateral relationship between the two cultures will necessarily help bring to full fruition the concept of a Canadian identity even in the long run. However, if the main policy emphasis is on developing and strengthening a sense of Canadian identity and culture that necessarily has very strong francophone elements within it (as large as, or almost as large as its anglophone elements), the strategy would be to lean heavily towards some segregationist measures, to prevent the short run integration of French-Canadians into the anglophone North American majority. It is not possible for the Examiners to take a stand on what should be the relative emphasis on the two main elements of policies for bilingualism without implicitly engaging in the weighing of such policy objectives against each other. Canadians must, and will, decide the goals they have in mind when they speak of a Canadian culture and a Canadian national identity.

However, it would be totally in line with all recent developments in the cultural politics of Canada if policy were to be based on the understanding that the presence of a six million French-speaking minority is a great asset for the Canadian Federation, and that, therefore, the maintenance and development of such a community should be considered a national commitment.

Nor would this approach be in any way out of tune with the social and cultural trends in other advanced countries, where the discovery and redevelopment of basic cultural roots is being increasingly perceived as necessary among people of industrialised countries who tend to feel completely stifled by the standardizing pressures of a tasteless consumers' society. Post-industrial societies may find a more viable equilibrium, to the extent they can redeploy their people in more lively communities. Strong cultural minorities are a hindrance only from the perspective of the traditional nation-state. They will become increasingly an asset for the future of the more advanced countries.(1)

Already now in Canada it is quite clear that Montreal has made important gains since it has reinforced its French-Canadian character. However, it might also be argued that Montreal has paid a rather heavy price in loss of economic development to Toronto for this change. But such a loss is not inevitable, and may be well on the way to being recouped. There are encouraging signs in that direction.

In an age when communication has become the most central activity of human beings, where education, culture and creativity, whatever their difficulties, are much more important for national viability and the "decent respect" of the world than production or traditional bureaucratic control, it is arguable that the mere existence in North America of a French-speaking metropolis, such as Montreal, is a major hope for the future and that its anglicisation would be unfortunate, not only for the French Canadians, but for Canada as a whole.

The general framework applied above is also relevant in relation to the question of multiculturalism. Apart from recognition of the special linguistic and cultural situation of registered Indians, no formal legal arrangements have been made to support multiculturalism, but it seems that there is in Canada a current which, under the general name of multiculturalism, tends to :

a) take account of the particular situations in which the cultural minorities find themselves (there are more than one hundred groups) in their efforts to find a place in the economic, social and political life of Canada (and, especially, as far as educational experiences are concerned);

b) consider the diversity of national groups as a source of cultural enrichment, and seek to support their continued existence.

For each minority group the question will have to be asked whether

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1) To take just one example: In France, it would be highly desirable that the existence of a Gaelic-speaking minority in Brittany should be considered as a real asset for France, and not just as a "problem". Viewed in a different light the Brittany "fact" could help ameliorate some of the more undesirable effects of deep-rooted French tendencies towards centralisation of policy making and administration, as well as the rigidities inherent in French bureaucracy. By leading the way, Canada might set an excellent example for others to follow. In any event, the gain to Canada would be considerable.

a more segregation-oriented policy should be applied in order to build up the strength of the minority before major moves are made towards integration into the broader Canadian society. The answer in terms of strategy is, of course, again a question of relative emphasis on different values. It is also, however, a question of costs imposed. Especially for the smaller groups, segregation almost certainly means reduced chances for individuals to succeed in the broader, mainstream society. If possibilities for some form of "success" cannot be offered to a sufficient extent within a relatively segregated unit, a strategy aiming at building up the strength of the minority group may not be based on valid assumptions. The connection between a special minority culture and its location at or near the bottom of a social hierarchy may then become a permanent feature.

For Indian cultures, a strategy with strong elements of segregation may appear as the best alternative, simply because the full integration alternative does not seem to function at all at present, except for a very small minority of individuals, who are certainly not typical. The task of building meaningful "success" possibilities within a fairly segregated Indian community is the difficult, but not wholly unrealistic, task that faces all concerned with Indian cultural development. Geographical isolation may point towards similar solutions for the Inuits.

As far as other minority groups are concerned, the situation appears different. The maintenance of their imported cultures may serve as a welcome addition to cultural variety, but it seems highly unlikely that it can form the basis for successful policies involving elements of segregation. Attempts in this direction are probably bound to fail, simply because the alternatives offered by isolated minorities in terms of meeting individual aspirations within a relatively segregated minority framework can hardly compete with reasonably accessible opportunities outside.

Thus a policy of increased symmetry between different cultural groups is only feasible when the weakest of the groups has a reasonable chance to build up sufficiently interesting opportunities within its own framework, as compared with accessible opportunities offered outside such a framework. Such a policy is definitely feasible in the case of Quebec Province though it may be more debatable for French-speaking minorities in other provinces, unless some extraordinary (but in the opinion of the Examiners wholly worthwhile) efforts are made. The attempt to follow a similar strategy for Indians and Inuits is at least understandable, mainly in view of extremely limited competing opportunities offered by an assimilation policy. For other groups, the use of minority languages in schools should rather be regarded as a valuable pedagogical tool, and hardly as a means of creating genuine multiculturalism, although it is to be hoped that the survival of such minority cultures will for a long time provide an interesting flavour to the Canadian scene.

Appendix E

SELECTED ASPECTS OF FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL FISCAL ARRANGEMENTS

After completing their Report, the Examiners received the following note from the Canadian Co-ordinating Committee for the OECD Review. It deals in a short, but lucid, manner with two major aspects of the complex fiscal arrangements between the federal and provincial governments, as they pertain to educational finance. This note should be read as background to a number of comments to be found throughout the Report on Federal-Provincial fiscal relations.

The purpose of this note is to describe certain elements of the system of transfer payments from the Federal government to the Provinces that directly or indirectly have a bearing on the financing of educational activity by provincial governments. It should be noted that this description is incomplete since it does not consider Federal programmes under which transfer payments are made to the Provinces for hospital insurance, medical care and social assistance. Under these programmes, the amounts transferred to the provinces run to *billions* of dollars. The two programmes which will be described are those of *Provincial revenue equalization payments* and *the post-secondary educational fiscal transfer*.

Under the programme of *Equalization Payments*, a large number of Provincial revenue sources are equalized under a complex formula with the effect that transfer payments are made to poorer Provinces to raise their general revenues to the national average level for all Provinces. Revenues equalized range from obvious ones such as Provincial personal income taxes and sales taxes to more obscure ones such as race track taxes. The payments to the Provinces are completely unconditional. The philosophy underlying the Equalization system is that all Provincial governments should have the financial resources to provide their citizens with a national average level of Provincial government services, including education, but on a basis reflecting the priorities determined by the governments receiving the payments. In 1973-74, seven of Canada's Provinces received Equalization Payment in the total amount of $ 1.5 billion. The result of this programme is that regardless of the relative weakness of its economic base, no Province is "poorer" than the national average in terms of its revenues to finance Provincial government services.

Since 1967, there has been an additional transfer payment mechanism linked to post-secondary education operating expenditures, the so-called fiscal transfers to Provinces for post-secondary education. There are two distinct aspects to this programme: a basis for determining the amount of money to which a Province is entitled; and a mechanism for making the payments.

The basis for determining Provincial entitlements is that Provinces receive 50 % of institutional (not Provincial payments in respect of) operating expenditures incurred by post-secondary institutions in the Province, with a floor provision designed to give recognition to Provinces where post-secondary expenditures are relatively low. In 1967, this floor was determined by multiplying the total population of the Province by $ 15. In subsequent years, the 1967 amount was increased by the year over year percentage increase in the national average operating expenditures of post-secondary institutions in Canada. Three Provinces have received payments on this basis since the programme's inception. Provision exists that, when the 50 % formula becomes more advantageous for these Provinces, they automatically move to that basis.

The Provincial entitlement is filled in two ways: by the "federal revenue reduction", and by "adjustment payments". Under the Federal revenue reduction, the Federal government reduced its personal income and corporate income taxes and the Provinces increased theirs by a corresponding amount, thereby augmenting Provincial revenues with no increased burden to the individual taxpayer. If the revenue reduction is insufficient to fill the total of a Province's entitlement, the balance is made up by a cash "adjustment payment". The latter component of the programme is administered by the Department of the Secretary of State. Since 1972, the governing legislation has provided that the total payments made under this programme cannot increase from one year to the next by more than 15 %. On the basis of preliminary data, it appears that this provision came into effect for the first time in 1974-75. The total value of this programme in 1973-74 exceeded $ 1 billion, $ 600 million of which resulted from the revenue reduction and $ 467 million in adjustment payments.

In 1973, two important amendments were made to the Federal-Provincial Fiscal Arrangements Act, 1972, which governs the system of Equalization Payments and the Post-Secondary Education Fiscal Transfer.

The first amendment, which dealt with the programme of Equalization Payments, broadened the revenue sources to be equalized to the national average level to include those revenues for school purposes which are raised by local governments. It was expected that this measure would result in an increase in Equalization Payments to the seven recipient Provinces of some $ 160 million in 1973-74. While these payments to the Provinces are totally unconditional as to the purposes for which they can be spent, the Minister of Finance, at the time of introducing this amendment to Parliament, expressed the hope that these payments would be passed on to local governments to be used to reduce the local taxes or to finance municipal government services, which would include education.

The second amendment, which dealt with the Post-Secondary Education Fiscal Transfer, extended the period that this measure would remain in effect to March 31, 1977. (Before the amendment, the Post-Secondary Education Fiscal Transfer was due to expire on March 31, 1974).

By way of general concluding comment, it might be noted that the whole range of Federal-Provincial fiscal arrangements in Canada is generally considered to be the most generous in effect in any federal state in the world.

Part Two

RECORD OF THE CONFRONTATION MEETING

Paris 9th-10th December, 1975

AGENDA FOR DISCUSSION

The review discussion of educational policy in Canada took place in the OECD Education Committee on 9th and 10th December, 1975. The agenda was based on the following problem areas, identified by the Examiners:

I. Inter-government relations
II. The policy-making process
III. School governance
IV. Bilingualism
V. Levels of the school system: problems in the content of education
VI. Educational opportunities
VII. Educational research, information and dissemination

Each of these areas are of concern to educational authorities and interest groups in many other OECD countries. They are outlined briefly below, with reference to particular Canadian circumstances. The specific questions posed by the Examiners will be found in the report below, at the head of each section of the review discussion.

I. Inter-government relations

Problems involving the relationships between levels and agencies of government are general in all countries whatever the form of organisation. Canadians have especially drawn attention to pressing problems arising from their country's geographic vastness, the divergence and variety of its people, its special history as a federation with bi-lingual origin and its delicate constitutional balance as a nation. Problems of inter-government relations tend to become acute whenever these relations involve an area of policy in which there is great activity, development and change. Certainly this is the case for education in Canada, where educational policy in inter-government relations reflect the intense activity and creative change taking place in the educational arena.

For Canada the issues specifically involve improving the mechanism for relationships among the provinces, between the Provinces and the Federal government and among agencies within the Federal government.

II. The policy-making process

Another problem area common to all complex societies involves the process of mediation among the wide range of interests represented in public issues such as education. Policy formation in such areas of pervasive public importance is conditioned by tradition and history and involves a network of formal and informal relations in which conflict cannot be resolved outside of the political process. Resolution of basic issues is therefore always something less than "rational", less than "ideal", and much of the "reconciliation" of different interests only occurs in terms of the operation of the structure of power. The fundamental problem, therefore, for public authorities such as those involved in a field like education is to contribute to a better organisation of this political process.

Canadian government authorities and public people concerned with education have dealt with this problem in some detail, and as in the case of other countries, have yet to feel that they have arrived at satisfactory solutions. In the case of Canada, the policy-making process involves, for example, a growing national structure of voluntary organisations whose participation must be worked out within the context of local and provincial management of educational institutions.

III. School governance

It is not unusual to see many of the larger problems of political and social relationships in a society reflected in questions of school governance. In Canada, the most pressing issues concern the current system of local school boards, problems concerning their actual representativeness, their lack of influence in pedagogical affairs, their uncertain financial autonomy, and their efficacy as mechanisms to ensure equality and the protection of minorities.

IV. Bilingualism

Bilingualism and the presence of minority groups offer particular problems and new opportunities for educational policy in many OECD countries today. However, in a few countries like Canada, where there are, in fact, two major languages and a long historical relationship between two major population groups, the problems are not only especially difficult, but the opportunities for achievement in education are correspondingly great. It is in the light of such difficulties and opportunities that a search can be made for a basis on which to discuss this policy area in Canada and to illuminate relevant policy issues in other Member countries.

V. Levels of the school system : problems in the content of education

Experience in OECD countries shows that each level of education has its characteristic problems at different times. For each level of education in Canada the OECD Examiners have attempted to define a characteristic issue in order to facilitate a discussion of issues which, for these institutional levels, are both important in Canada and are of broad international interest:

At the pre-school level a major issue appears as a need to strengthen its professional personnel.

Primary school development during the past ten years gives rise to the question of evaluating the many innovations introduced in pedagogy at this level.

Secondary school policy-questions revolve around the problem of how genuinely to integrate the "two cultures" of technical-vocational and academic education.

For adult education an orientation which stresses work and employment as the top priority is raised as a basic policy issue.

For higher education the question is raised, whether there is a perspective for developing away from a system of a limited number of prestige institutions toward a more egalitarian distribution of resources among all of Canada's university institutions.

VI. Educational opportunities

The most generally recognised social goal related to education in OECD countries is the provision of more equal educational opportunity for all sectors of their populations. Canada is among those countries which have also recognised that growing economic wealth and educational expansion have not automatically achieved this goal. While continuing disparity of opportunity across income groups is the broadest problem, there are pressing questions of effective policies and ensuring special resource needs for handicapped children and for the education of native people.

VII. Educational research, information and dissemination

A public enterprise as important as education calls for systematic inquiry aimed at its evaluation and improvement. To improve country-wide dissemination of information, to raise the funds requisite for the support of an adequate level of educational research and to reorientate research toward field located activity, are issues of great difficulty in the light of the fragmented structure of Canadian education.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CANADIAN DELEGATION

The Hon. Ben Hanuschak (Minister of Education and Colleges and Universities Affairs, Manitoba) began his remarks by introducing the members of the Canadian Delegation (see page 11).

The Canadian authorities welcomed the opportunity for self-evaluation provided by the review process. They had identified their own objectives for the review, as follows:

a) To develop an internal report which would, in essence, be a study of the status of education in Canada.

b) To promote internal study and analysis of educational developments and policies in a regional context and in terms of issues of common interest to the provinces of a region. While the general format of the various regional reports is the same, different regions have chosen to emphasize specific issues as being of concern to them.

c) To subject provincial, regional and national policies to external review and to benefit from the advantages of such a process.

d) To identify areas for long-range planning to which the Council of Ministers of Education of Canada may wish to address itself in the interests of interprovincial cooperation. It was expected that this objective would be realized to some degree by analyzing common currents that ran through the various regional reports, but it was also anticipated that the external review would be instrumental in identifying such areas. The Canadian authorities have not been disappointed in this regard.

e) To furnish the OECD and its Member countries with insights into Canadian educational developments and educational policies in a type of federal state which is unique among those Member countries.

It should be noted that educational authorities in Canada, in planning the preparation of the internal reports, chose to have these reports include the views of educational policies as seen by the authorities themselves. The decision not to involve interest groups such as teachers' associations, trustees' associations, labour groups, etc., was a very deliberate one. It was widely publicized that this policy was adopted and that interest groups would have the opportunity to assess the views expressed by educational authorities on the occasion of the visit of the external examiners. As the Examiners' report has noted, this process was carried forward, thus providing the Examiners with diverse points of view. The Examiners report that they had complete access to many and diverse views from individuals and groups. The Canadian authorities would have been surprised and disappointed had they thought otherwise.

There was a further reason for making the deliberate decision to present the internal report as the view of education authorities. The nature of the consultation processes that are normal in Canadian education are such that they require that all groups wishing to present a view should have not only the opportunity to present their view but also the assurance that their views are given consideration in the preparation of the document. Such activities would have resulted in a time line that would have been unsatisfactory to the OECD, to the Canadian authorities and to the various interest groups involved.

The OECD is to be commended for its success in assembling a team of Examiners with such capability, insight and energy, and for assenting to Canada's request that both the number of Examiners and the length of stay should be increased beyond the normal amount. The quality of the Examiners' Report exceeded the Canadian authorities' expectations, even given the high expectations for it based upon an assessment on the competence and insight of the team. Canadians thank the Examiners for both their generous praise of Canadian educational policies and practice, and for their critical remarks. The latter have already stimulated some re-assessment of policies.

The Examiners' Report has chosen to discuss education policies in Canada as a whole, rather than reflect the regional format of the internal report. While the choice of this approach is understandable, this decision has prevented an in-depth analysis of particular issues unique to a region, and furthermore has tended to give the impression of Canadian education as a unified system, as opposed to the complex of systems that it really is.

The Canadian authorities would like to inform the examining team, the OECD Secretariat and the members of the Education Committee of one condition that was agreed to by the Canadian federal and provincial authorities prior to the beginning of the review. This condition was that the review was not to be used as an arena for the debating of constitutional issues. It is the Canadian view that the nature of these issues is such that they do not lend themselves to discussion in international settings. It was fully expected that the

Examiners would mention in the Report, in fact emphasize, the problems in educational policies with respect to federal-provincial relations. The Canadian authorities are delighted that the Examiners were so frank and insightful in the body of their Report and in the questions they posed. They can be assured that the issues which they raised will be the subject of much discussion in what Canadians judge to be an appropriate setting. As a consequence of the condition agreed to by the Federal and Provincial authorities, the Canadian delegation respectfully requests that, while Questions 5 and 6 are extremely significant and concern basic issues, it is their express wish that they not be the subject of discussion on this occasion.

In conclusion, Mr. Hanuschak reiterated his opinion that the Canadian authorities have been very pleased with the project. The Examiners' Report may be expected to be the subject of intense discussion in Canada over the coming years. Canada has invested substantial resources in this enterprise. It is Canada's hope that this investment will continue to pay dividends to the children of Canada, the Canadian people and to the Members of the OECD community.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY THE EXAMINERS

Dr. Hildegard Hamm-Brücher introduced the members of the Examining team.

Professor Harold Noah, in his opening statement on behalf of the Examiners, outlined the seven groups of questions that the Examiners presented for discussion. He emphasized how conscious the Examiners were that, in both their Report and in the questions for discussion, they had only skimmed the richness of Canadian education. The gaps and weaknesses in the Examiners' work were not to be ascribed in any way to any lack of cooperation from the Canadian side, but had to be attributed to the Examiners themselves. The Examiners had not contented themselves with making judgments, but they had also tried to give their reasons for their judgments. In doing this, they had, without doubt, transgressed the cardinal rule laid down by the Earl of Mansfield, an 18th century Lord Chief Justice of England, who admonished his fellow judges: "Never give your reasons, for your judgment will probably be right, but your reasons will certainly be wrong". The Examiners earnestly hope that wherever they have been in error in either their judgments or their reasons, correction will be forthcoming from the Canadian delegation.

The Examiners wished to express their deepest appreciation to all in Canada who had worked so diligently, efficiently and hospitably to make it possible for them to carry out their tasks. The Examiners had brought away from Canada an abiding and profound respect and affection for the Canadian people and their accomplishments in education.

RECORD OF THE DISCUSSION

I. INTER-GOVERNMENT RELATIONS

Questions

1. What are the possible alternative avenues to strengthen and systematise interrelationships and co-operation among provincial educational authorities?
2. Which of these avenues is most desirable, and what matters would be the main concern of such a strengthened co-operation?
3. A Federal government "presence" in Canadian education is evident, particularly in the Secretary of State's office. How successful is the co-ordinating role of this office in terms such as reducing conflicts and contradictions between Federal programmes and between Federal and Provincial programmes?
4. Has it been able to insure a more systematic collection, organisation and dissemination of information about educational developments over the entire range of provinces and Federal authorities?
5. In the light of the role played by the federal government in the financing of education and in the light of educational issues recognised as country-wide in character is the present "official" exclusion of the Federal government from any role in establishing relevant policies for education considered to be essential?
6. Via what mechanisms could there be a Federal contribution to policy-making for education in those fields and issues that are of country-wide scope?

Dr. Hamm-Brücher observed that it was perhaps appropriate that she had been asked to introduce this cluster of questions, for not only did she come from a country (the Federal Republic of Germany) that had a federal structure, but she had worked for a number of years on both sides of the federal fence--in provincial, as well as in federal, government posts. Moreover, the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada is modelled on the Permanent Conference of Ministers of Culture in Germany, now 25 years old.

The concerns alluded to in Questions 1 and 2 ran like a *leitmotiv* through all the discussions the Examiners had in Canada. It is not an exaggeration to say that in the course of practically every discussion the Examiners heard some more or less critical remarks about lack of information, communication and co-operation among the provinces. The work of the Council of Ministers of Education did not escape criticism either, often for an evident inability or unwillingness to act in a more public manner in the determination and enunciation of policies for education. The Council's potential role as a kind of clearing house for and partner to the interest groups in education (parents', teachers', trustees', and administrators' organisation) was not being fulfilled.

Relationships between the provinces and the federal government, similarly, came under repeated criticism. Everybody asked for change in the direction of more and better coordination among the provinces on one side and with the federal government on the other. The Examiners wish to emphasize these questions not only for this meeting but also for the years to come in educational policy in Canada. The strengthening of interprovincial co-operation seem to be especially necessary and desirable in the following fields: the overall planning of educational development, curriculum planning and experimentation, the whole field of educational research, promoting and evaluating innovative programmes and model schools, help for handicapped children, and teacher training and upgrading programmes. The Examiners do not wish to comment on the highly political issues that are involved in such co-operation, but would merely remark by way of footnote that these problems cannot be solved by ignoring them. The same was and is true in Germany.

Questions 3 and 4 deal with problems of co-ordination and co-operation among the several federal agencies concerned with very different aspects of education and educational policy. The Examiners got the impression and some proof that co-operation among the federal agencies is not yet satisfactory and they therefore ask whether the efforts made by the Department of the Secretary of State to co-ordinate all these activities should not and could not be improved. The Examiners think they need to be improved. The federal agencies spend a lot of money. In 1972, $ 2 billion out of about $ 10 billion of public money spent for education came from Federal funds. The Examiners think that the Federal authorities should not just hand out the results of their spending. Perhaps what is needed is a high-powered representative group, drawn from all the relevant federal government agencies. Its task would be to formulate targets and procedures, to watch carefully their realization and, if necessary, to change programmes.

In this context, the Examiners would like to underline the importance of having a well-equipped, well-financed and well-staffed statistical service to inform the work of such a group. Success in co-ordination of policies and programmes depends very largely on good statistical background material. Hence, the Examiners do regret that there is no direct representation at this meeting of Statistics Canada.

The Examiners wish to repeat that they have no intention of interfering in internal Canadian political affairs, but they would have failed in their task as Examiners if they had shut their eyes, ears and thoughts to the problems raised in Questions 1 to 6.

In replying to Questions 1 and 2, Mr. Hanuschak clarified the role and function of the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada. When the ministers meet in Council, it acts merely as a forum for the exchange of views, information, and ideas interprovincially, but at no time does it assume the posture of a body acting on behalf of the Ministers of Education of the provinces of Canada. The Council meets, and consensus of view may be arrived at, but that is then taken back to the provinces and each Minister of Education assumes the responsibility for dealing with it--whether it be within the province or interprovincially, or between a particular province and the federal government.

The criticism that the Council of Ministers of Education meets behind closed doors is not entirely correct. It is true that the Council's meetings are not open to the public, but whatever decisions are made, and whenever a consensus is arrived at, that certainly is made public. It is true that the Council of Ministers of Education is not a clearing house for the various interest groups concerned with education. That function is carried out by and large at the provincial level. The reason for this is simply that, under the British North America Act, each province carries the basic responsibilities for education, and therefore it is felt that it is preferable to have that line of communication at the provincial, rather than at the Council, level. The Council of Ministers of Education, Canada is less than a decade old. Nevertheless it does have its secretariat, and committees dealing with matters of interprovincial and national interest; for example, committees on Curriculum, Broadcasting, Statistics, and Post-secondary Education. These committees function within guidelines that the Council of Ministers has set for itself. It operates mainly to exchange information, to enable one province to benefit from the experiences of the other. In addition, interprovincial relationships among the Education Ministers are further fostered by regional committees of ministers and officials. Canada is such a very large country geographically, that the needs and problems in education vary from one region to another. What may be matters of high concern on the West Coast may not matter at all on the East Coast or in Central Canada. A few examples of regional co-operative bodies are the Atlantic Council of Ministers and of Senior Education Officials, the Atlantic Special Education Authority, the Western Canada Committee on Post-secondary Education which is a committee of ministers, and committees of officials on curriculum field services, school facilities, media and learning resources. There are also many interprovincial bilateral agreements for the provision of various services. To give just one example: this year, Manitoba has entered into an agreement with the Province of Saskatchewan and its university for the training of students from Manitoba in veterinary medicine. Interprovincial conferences on various educational issues are held with great frequency. Seldom a week goes by that there is not an interprovincial conference dealing with specific educational issues.

With respect to federal-provincial co-operation, every province does have a mechanism to facilitate the best communication between the federal and provincial government. In some provinces, there is an actual ministry with the title "Federal-provincial Relations", or some such similar wording. Its function is to co-ordinate federal-provincial negotiations. If there is not a ministry, there is some other mecanism established to perform the same function. The particular avenue chosen to provide for the most effective and efficient line of communication interprovincially or federally-provincially, or between the provinces and various interest groups in education, would depend on the issue involved. For example, if an issue arises in which there is general unanimity of opinion amongst the provinces, it may be that the Council of Ministers would convey the desire on the part of the Provincial Ministers to meet with the appropriate minister of the federal government. On the other hand, if it is an issue which could be more effectively dealt with at the provincial level, then the Council would not involve itself in it but would leave it to the various provinces to deal with in whatever manner they saw fit.

There are many non-government agencies (trustees' and teachers' groups, the Association of Universities and Colleges, and so forth) which provide a forum for involvement of various educational and non-educational groups, and a meeting place for people with special interests or with a general interest in education. They make possible a line of communication to the Secretariat of the Council of Ministers of Education. Ministers are always concerned that the Council of Ministers expand its information system and its co-operation with regional and other groups.

During the past decade practically every province has established a royal commission, or a task force, to review and assess educational policies. On such occasions there is always ample opportunity for all interest groups to present their views, and to offer advice and suggestions on such matters as educational planning and research; education for minority groups; native education; early childhood services; communication with non-government educational groups.

Mr. Peter Roberts (Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Department of the Secretary of State, Government of Canada), in responding to Question 3, observed that the question had two parts: One dealt with sins of commission and omission with respect to co-ordination within the federal government, and the other with federal-provincial relationships. The Ministry of Government which he represented, the Secretary of State in Canada, had had the mandate from the federal Cabinet to co-ordinate federal education activities for only two years or so, a relatively short period in bureaucratic terms. Hence, there might be certain things that ought to have been done that were not yet done.

On first reading, Question 3 seems to fall into the category of questions: "When are you going to stop beating your wife?". The federal authorities do not consider that there are a great many contradictions and conflicts among federal programmes touching on education, although some conflicts and contradictions do exist, for example, in the funding of research. He did not know what conflicts and contradictions there were beyond the one or two that came immediately to mind. Perhaps in the course of discussion, the Education Committee would be able to hear what conflicts and contradictions the Examiners were able to identify when they were in Ottawa. The Canadian delegation would be interested to know what they were. Although federal activity in the education field is expensive, and the dollar amount is large (something like $ 2 billion as Dr. Hamm-Brücher pointed out), the programmes are not terribly diverse or numerous. The office of the Secretary of State which looks after these matters has only about 30 people. It is not likely to get bigger. It has a very limited function and that function is not likely to get bigger, either. We are indeed dealing with what the Examiners termed a "modest" federal presence in this field. The general impression is that such contradictions and conflicts as do exist at that level are being dealt with fairly satisfactorily. There exists a rather important committee of deputy ministers to discuss these problems, although it has met only infrequently. At any rate, that committee does exist. The Department of the Secretary of State has the responsibility and the mandate to present to the government, to the federal Cabinet, everything that goes to them dealing with educational matters. There does then exist an ultimate sanction, and ultimate control, over the decisions that are taken by the federal government at the highest level. The machinery is therefore in place; if it does not work perfectly, that is undoubtedly a shortcoming, but the hope is that eventually it will work better.

Insofar as federal relations with the Council of Ministers of

Education are concerned, the words "conflicts" and "contradictions" are rather strong. Certainly, there are different points of view and different objectives, and even different purposes between the federal level and the provincial level, taken as a whole in various education matters. The efforts made by both the federal authorities and the Council of Ministers of Education to solve problems have been fairly successful. For example, in the matter of student aid, the federal and the provincial levels have been working together steadily via the Council of Ministers for years to make some recommendations to the various governments on these matters, and with some success.
It is important to understand that in Canada education is not really a major area of contention between the Federal and the Provincial level. The country was put together in the first place on the basis that its various parts had various interests and that the purpose of the country as a whole was to serve each and all of them in different ways. So it is never expected that there should be a total identity of view between, say, the federal government and the Council of Ministers of Education. At the federal level the expectation is that actions will be taken that result in the federal government serving the interests of the various parts of the country. This is why there is a federal government and, indeed, why there is a country.

A good deal of the federal activity and federal influence on education lies outside the classroom, in the field of research, for example, which is very heavily funded at the Federal level; in the field of broadcasting which is a federal responsibility in Canada and which obviously has a major impact on education, broadly understood; and in the field of film and support for the arts generally, in which the federal government, like the provincial governments, is very active.

In answer to that part of Question 4 which deals with the collection and dissemination of information in Canada about education, the federal government has been able to make a serious start on the more systematic collection and dissemination of information. Dr. Hamm-Brücher mentioned Statistics Canada and the absence of a representative from Statistics Canada at this meeting. Statistics Canada has important things to say on education, or would have if it were represented here, and it is a key element in providing information about education in Canada. There has been substantial improvement in the way Statistics Canada operates, as a result of the creation of a Statistics Committee in the Council of Ministers of Education. This has made it possible for Statistics Canada to give up its former practice of dealing directly with provincial governments (and even directly with particular institutions in the provinces) and instead to deal with the Statistics Committee of the Council. Statistics Canada is regarded by the federal government as a national service whose objective is not merely to serve the immediate needs of the federal government, but also to serve the country as a whole--provincial governments, governments at other levels, institutions and individuals.

The Department of the Secretary of State is working towards the creation of an information system and documentation centre on education and has already gone some way towards listing and documenting existing educational research material in Canada. Contacts have been established at the international, national and provincial levels to receive material. This information is being made available widely and the intention is to expand its availability in the future. The federal government is funding a project of the Social Science Research Council of Canada, in particular, to identify and describe social science information systems which already exist in Canada. Federal funds are going also to the Canadian Education Association to explore the possibilities of creating an automated national education information system. The Department of the Secretary of State is undertaking a number of studies which when they are completed will be disseminated and made available across the country on such subjects as early childhood education, continuing education, the characteristics of graduate students in Canada, and the vexed problem of foreign students in Canada. With the help of Statistics Canada, surveys have been made of senior secondary and post-secondary students, with especial reference to their attitudes to further study. A serious attempt is being made, too, to catalogue and keep track of all federal activity in the field of education. This information is kept up to date, and is made available. A very new project at the federal level concerns the dissemination of information about second language teaching. The Department of the Secretary of State funds substantial research in the field of language teaching, and information is made available to teachers of second languages across the country through publications, meetings and organizations that are federally supported.

Mr. Maurice Mercier (Assistant Deputy Minister of Education, Quebec) observed that the Examiners had fulfilled the role not only of critical observers, but also of prophets. They warned us to be careful here, to look out there, for there were were troubles ahead. And, now, the Minister of Education from Quebec, who should have been present, has been detained in Canada by discussions of precisely the kind foreseen by the Examiners. As the first cluster of questions are of a political, or quasi-political nature, it would have been perfectly appropriate to have had a minister answer them. But, he (Mr. Mercier) would do his best to answer them, bearing in mind the agreement within the Canadian Delegation not to touch on constitutional problems. This is the Canadian way of showing inter-provincial and federal-provincial solidarity.

Dr. Hamm-Brücher had emphasized that, especially in the case of Quebec, there were differences of view between the federal and provincial authorities. Quebec is not, of course, the only province that has such differences, although in Quebec they may be more marked than elsewhere. In any case, Quebec completely agrees with the sentiments expressed by the Chairman of the Delegation (Mr. Hanuschak), concerning the need for closer, more organic relationships among the provinces in educational matters. There is also agreement with the specification of the agenda for interprovincial discussion and on the methods to be used in conducting discussions, both among the provinces, and with the federal authorities.

It is difficult to understand why the Examiners have failed to note that there is, if anything, altogether too much federal-provincial contact. In practice, relations are not only multiple--they are multifarious and hyperactive. The Secretary of State, the federal government in general, and the provinces must surpass the United Nations itself in the number of committees, councils, and commissions(!). Virtually every federal minister is implicated in one way or another in education. All the great commissions have ended with recommendations to the provinces on education. Federal-provincial relations are manifest in the National Council of the Arts, the National Council on Scientific Research, the National Council of Health, the Radio-Television Commissions, and in the commissions on the arts, humanities, etc. There are federal-provincial conferences at the ministerial, sub-ministerial and administrative levels. There are ad hoc and mixed committees, reflecting the changing pattern of Canadian problems. Flexibility in these relationships occurs also, because they are often not statutory, but reflect the abilities and commitment of the personalities involved, as well as the ability to conduct their affairs in terms of law that has enabled Canadians to live together for several centuries.

The provinces are not willing to be simple objects of federal dictation in educational matters, for they insist on a role in the definition of goals and means for education and in the allocation of fiscal resources. Nor can the provinces accept programmes that are initiated by the federal authorities, if there is no assurance that there will be continuity of federal-funding. The provinces are opposed to the overriding of their educational development plans by changes dictated by so-called "national" goals, in the definition of which they have had no systematic role. In developing their own coherent provincial systems of education, the provinces are indeed serving well the national interests of Canada as a whole. The Examiners will have found that all the Ministers of Education are proud of their achievements.

In the end, everything comes down to the question of fiscal resources for education. There is a very weighty Federal presence in educational finance and there is no objection to this. It is simply that some day there must be a good, frank discussion about federal financing. While one must wish good luck to the Secretary in efforts to coordinate the multiplicity of educational programmes at the federal level, the essential job is to ensure that fiscal resources are available to those who must carry out the ambitious programmes for education, whether federal or provincial.

Professor Noah emphasized that the Examiners' question concerning inadequate intra-federal co-ordination of educational programmes stemmed from remarks that had been made by Canadians. Often, the Examiners were told, the left-hand did not know what the right hand was doing. Abrupt changes of direction were made in manpower training programmes, and federal programmes sometimes clashed directly with provincial goals. The Examiners' concern with respect to federal-provincial discussions is not that there is not enough of them. The multiplicity of discussion among the many levels of government and policy-making in Canada is clear and the Examiners are full of admiration for the tenacity and energy exhibited by Canadians in making the system work. The Examiners' concern is best expressed by the words in the following paragraph from the Examiners' Report:

> "At present, discussions, negotiations and agreements between the federal government and the provinces in educational matters tend to go forward on a bilateral or piecemeal basis. This procedure may answer certain provincial (and federal) political needs but it has unfortunately also made much more difficult the task of making something more systematic out of the highly fractionated structure of education in Canada."

The Examiners do understand that there are those in Canada who would not want to see a more systematic structure made out of this highly complex and differentiated system. However, from the viewpoint of external observers, that seemed to be a disadvantage not only for the policy-makers and administrators, but also for the people of Canada, whom the system is intended to benefit.

Regarding possible alternatives to the present structure of the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, the Examiners' Report urged consideration of transforming the Council from being simply a forum of ad hoc interprovincial communication to a place for regular interprovincial co-operation. The Council's programmes and committees at present are established, operate for a year or two, and are then disbanded. A more permanent structure is needed. Lastly, the Examiners are most concerned, and expressed their concern in the Report, that the Council of Ministers of Education,Canada has not been able to incorporate a full and regular Federal representation, but has been content with maintaining Federal representation at committee level.

Mr. Kjell Eide pointed out that the questions of inter-provincial relationships and provincial-federal relationships are twin issues. The closer inter-provincial relationships are, the less need for federal interference. On the other hand, the existence of a tight network of inter-provincial relationships would imply little opposition to a stronger central authority.

It may be useful to view the inter-provincial issue against the background of the collaboration engendered among five quite independent Nordic countries who have gradually developed the Nordic Council. The Nordic Council is based on the parliaments of the five countries. A ministerial council represents the governments, and there are meetings of ministers in each of the governmental sectors, as well as regular meetings of administrators. This formal structure is largely a reflection of an extensive and probably much more important informal network of contacts among a whole range of institutions, organizations and individuals. The Nordic Council structure grew out of the informal network.

Incentives are important. It is a little bit easier to get public money for a project if it is nordic, than if it is only national. Perhaps that's a useful model for Canada, more useful than detailed discussion of the programme of the Council of Ministers. Another example comes to mind. In Scandinavia a system of committees looks into the appointment of each university professor. At least one or more members are seated from one of the other countries. Perhaps royal commissions dealing with education matters in one part of Canada might include one or two members from other provinces. It is something worth considering. These are perhaps more important questions than the formal structure, or the practice of open or closed proceedings, of the Council of the Ministers.

Perhaps the word "conflicts" was not too well chosen by the Examiners to describe what are better termed intrafederal contradictions. Bureaucracies can live with tremendous contradictions without any conflict at all. The basic problem is neither conflict nor contradiction, but the fact that there is a blank area at the federal level, labelled education. Education is taken care of always under some other label: manpower policy, science policy, bilingualism, native affairs, or whatever. This stratagem helps solve one set of problems, but raises others. When a particular educational policy gets formulated at the federal level as if it served only one purpose, while at the provincial level it is regarded more realistically as an activity that serves a series of purposes, then conflicts occur. Moreover the federal practice of deriving what is, in effect, educational policy from the ad hoc interventions of neighbouring ministries makes a consistent pattern of educational policy impossible to achieve. The lack of a Department that cares primarily for education as a worthwhile activity for its own sake creates a policy vacuum. Although the constitution may forbid the construction of a federal policy, the problem nevertheless remains. There is federal involvement, but no federal policy in terms of a balanced concern for all the various purposes of education.

One solution would be to fill the gap, but constitutionally that is excluded. Another possibility would be to keep hands off federally, and not disturb sensitive balances at the provincial level. This is no solution, either. So the third solution may simply be to live with the contradictions, accepting them as the price to be paid for other benefits. Probably that is the solution Canadians have chosen, and it raises the question whether Canadians are willing to go on paying this price in order to maintain the present balance between federal and provincial authorities in the education field.

Dr. Hamm-Brücher observed that the Examiners were not surprised that the answers to the first cluster of questions were a little defensive. Perhaps the representatives of the provincial governments and the federal government would care to read the official minutes of the Examiners' conversations and hearings. These minutes document the source and nature of many of the critical remarks reported by the Examiners.

Mr. Hanuschak responded to the Examiners' comments by agreeing that there was some evidence of the left hand not knowing what the right hand was doing. In some instances that does happen, but that is not a matter for apology. If Dr. Hamm-Brücher considered the Canadian responses somewhat defensive, it is important to understand that Canada is a very young country. Many parts of Canada had territory status only a generation or two ago. The governments were faced not only with the problem of devising and perfecting an education system, but of attending to basic needs, clearing land, building roads, bridges and school-houses, to teach basic communication skills. It is only in recent years that Canada reached the point of addressing herself to the perfection of the education programme in a sophisticated fashion. This must be borne in mind when reviewing education programmes in Canada.

It is true that the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, does not have federal representation on the Council itself, but there is federal participation and involvement in various committees and sub-committes. The Council guards provincial rights and authority in the field of education very, very jealously, and intends to continue to do so. But the Council also recognizes that it is impossible to deal with education issues in complete isolation from other needs of the community, such as economic needs and manpower training. Hence, there is need for federal participation along the lines of present practice. This produces contradictions on occasion between the federal government and the provincial governments, but within the provisions of the British North America Act the attempt is made to resolve the contradictions which arise from time to time. The task is to deliver the eeucational services which must be delivered, and to provide for the most equitable financing of them, being mindful of the fact that the provinces of Canada differ in fiscal capacity.

Mr. Roberts said he hoped the federal authorities would continue to be pragmatic--there was no choice when building a structure from almost nothing. The federal government has by and large dealt with whatever bodies existed. When there was no Council of Ministers of Education the federal government dealt bilaterally with each province. The coming into existence of the Council of Ministers of Education made it possible to begin dealing with some problems on that basis. Others still do not yield themselves to being dealt within that forum and many discussions affecting education work continue, mainly bilaterally. Up to now the federal government has dealt bilaterally with the provinces on bilingualism programmes. Now, negotiations are being transferred to a multilateral basis. It is hoped that relations with the provinces on bilingualism will be dealt with increasingly in the framework of the Council of Ministers. And with other questions, the same is true. As the Council of Ministers becomes able to cope with these things, the federal government will be delighted to work with them in that way.

As suggested by Mr. Eide, there have been a good many federal programmes which have caused a good deal of distress when their implications at the provincial level became evident, for example, the programme initiated by the federal government in 1971, called Opportunities for Youth. This was essentially a programme to deal with unemployment among young people, by making funds available to young people to do things that they wanted to do, which were useful in their own communities. Mr. Roberts said that one of his responsibilities in the federal government was in the field of the arts as well, and it came as a great surprise that what many of the young people wanted to do was not at all what the government thought they would want.

Many of them wanted to do things in the field of the arts. Out of the Opportunities for Youth programme there came a sudden explosion of theatre in Canada: new theatre, professional theatre at a very high level, suddenly came into existence, as a result of a federal programme which had been designed to alleviate an unemployment problem. When that federal programme began to wind down, the people who had established these theatres and were running them with great success and attracting audiences, naturally wanted to continue, and they went cap in hand to the provincial governments as well as to the federal government. They went to the provincial governments and said "Where is our support to keep our theatre going?". The provincial governments, who of course had not budgeted for this and had not even considered the problem particularly on the cultural side, and the federal government which had not anticipated it either, were embarrassed. There was a lack of anticipation of what the programme entailed, and there was a lack of capacity to deal with the problem when it arose. The federal government is trying to learn by experiences of that kind and to do what it can to minimize these contradictions, if that's what they are. The fact remains that of the three options that Professor Eide offered Canada of getting in a lot further, getting out altogether or muddling through , the federal government has got to settle for muddling through.

Mr. Mercier observed that he did not wish to imply by his previous remarks that Canada was on the edge of an abyss. He wished to underscore Mr. Hanuschak's remarks that Canada was in a process of evolution as regards the federal presence in educational policy. Thus, there has been a definite evolution in the way the federal government has subsidized vocational retraining and agricultural training. At first, the federal government directly financed vocational training in trade, technical and technological schools. After the federal government had augmented its programme of assistance to vocational training, in pursuit of valid socio-economic goals of service to the whole of Canada, it began to provide funds directly to the universities. It is clear that the provinces did not like this manner of proceeding. So, in order to put a stop to the protests about this federal meddling in provincial affairs, the Conference of University Vice-Principals was used as the instrument of federal financing. This didn't do, either, because the ministries of education saw themselves as extraneous to the Conference of Vice-Principals, without control over the funds needed to assure the development of their own educational institutions. It was then agreed to pay the money to the provincial ministries. In the end it came down to a process of fiscal transfer that served the same ends, but left the provinces with the choice of modes of providing vocational education, with the ministries of education in full control.

One imagines that other sectors can show the same process of evolution. A similar trend can be seen in the programme for manpower training. In 1967, mainly for economic reasons, the Federal Government wished to invest in the retraining and upgrading of workers, and it asked for provincial participation. The necessary funds were made available under the aegis of a special law, the Adult Occupational Training Act. Here, too, some people (especially in Quebec) wished to have matters arranged as had been done for regular vocational training: instead of a series of annual specific grants, with strings attached, perhaps it was preferable to provide the same amounts on money in such a way as to guarantee adequate provision of services to those citizens who by chance happened to find themselves in Quebec.

This kind of evolution in financial arrangements and in federal-provincial arrangements is implied by the Canadian constitution. The federal Government cannot withdraw completely from these and similar programmes, although new ways of accomplishing federal assistance will certainly develop. But what the ministries of education basically request, and even demand with all due diplomatic protocol, is to be masters in their own houses, serving the purposes of their provinces and of the confederation.

Mr. Hanuschak asked Mr. Fleck to comment on behalf of his minister, the Hon. Thomas L. Wells (Ontario), who could not be present.

Mr. W.E.P. Fleck (Director, Curriculum Development, Ministry of Education, Ontario), said that Mr. Eide's reference to the Nordic Council was most appropriate vis-à-vis the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada. In the space of a few years a very extensive contact network has developed and much discussion and co-operation goes on, continues to go on and no doubt will grow as time passes. At present about a hundred provincial education officials are members of the various committees and sub-structures of the Council, and this contact network is growing. For example, the Curriculum Committee of the Council of Ministers has spent a considerable amount of time considering matters related to environmental education. As a result, one province agreed to host a conference which was supported by the other provinces. Very meaningful discussion and sharing of views took place with respect to ways of tackling the problem of environmental education today. Thus, there is a contact network, there is a substructure in place, it is growing, and the hope is that it will do better in tackling these problems of mutual concern.

Another example is provided by the implementation of a uniform policy for the introduction of the metric system in Canadian schools. Canada is still in large measure on the Imperial system of measurement, but the country is in the midst of conversion to metrication. Under the sponsorship of the Council of Ministers of Education, and with the co-operation of the counterpart authorities in the federal government, a uniform policy of metrication in an educational context has been adopted. A publication for use in schools was developed by the Council of Ministers and within the past six months has been circulated to teachers in all the provinces of Canada.

Mr. K. Roeloffs (Germany) commented that the parallels with Germany in the last ten or twenty years were fascinating. The question is: Can an educational system be most effectively organized on a central, regional, or federal level, or are there ways in between?

As a representative of the Permanent Conference of the Ministers of Education in the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Roeloffs said he had much sympathy with the Canadian situation. The constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany does provide the possibility of common overall educational planning in West Germany. There is an overall educational plan and a joint commission for educational planning, even though, as in Canada, powers over education are reserved to the Länder.

In a federal system, elements of democracy are better safeguarded. Decisions are taken with better knowledge of the actual situation, whereas the federal level has a tendency to be too distant, too far away. The Examiners' Report notes a remarkable absence of party political controversy over education in Canada, pointing to the fact that it is one of the least politicized educational systems in the world and that the system tries to avoid such controversy at any cost. In this respect, a federal system can also make an important contribution to political stability, for is there are different political opinions about the shape and the form of an educational system, it enables the different parties to put into practice their ideas in the provinces where they hold power, thus striking a sort of balance. In addition, the federal form engenders a fruitful competition of ideas, actions, policies and politics, and this in itself will certainly redound to the benefit of democracy. Mr. Roeloffs asked whether the Canadian experience embodied a philosophy that encouraged "closer contact with reality, more competition, and more democracy".

Mr. V. Serdar (Yugoslavia) asked for information on the relative position of federal and provincial authorities in the process of reforming Canadian schools; and on how they co-operated in the process of reforming schools.

Mr. Hanuschak replied that Mr. Roeloffs's observation of the development of education in Canada was quite realistic. Responsibility for the development of education in Canada must rest at the provincial level, taking into account the vastness of the country, and the variations in economic base, and sociological and ethnic make-up. Education has to be designed accordingly.

As regards the second part of the question: Is it desired to inject more competition into education? That depends on how one interprets the word "competition". If it is competition in the sense of having an awareness of what is going on in education on a worldwide basis, of attempting to glean the best from whatever is relevant and practical, and of discarding that which is less than best, then in that sense, yes. If "competition" means a certain trait to be developed within children, then generally speaking, the answer is no. Desirable as competition may be, that is not a Canadian priority. Competition, yes, but also recognizing the fact that there is a role for co-operation to play.

More democracy? Yes. That is the general direction in which change in education is moving in all provinces. For many years, the administration of the education programme was centrally controlled, usually in the hands of officials within the Ministries of Education. In recent years there has been increasing concern voiced by the consumer of the education programme, asking to be involved in the education planning process and one would find evidence in all provinces, in many communities, of a greater measure of involvement all the way down to local school level.

Regarding federal-provincial co-operation in the reform of schools, that depends on the particular issue. If it is curriculum, then that is an exclusively provincial jurisdiction. If it is elementary and post-secondary finance, that too is provincial jurisdiction. If it is vocational education, manpower training, or bilingualism, then there is co-operation by both the federal and provincial authorities.

II. THE POLICY-MAKING PROCESS

Questions

It is significant that many of the voluntary organisations in education have acquired a "national" structure. This development appears to recognise that the determination of general objectives and practices for education demands a clarification that cannot be adequately achieved at a strictly local, or even regional, level.

7. What limits are to be placed on the voluntary organisations' claims to participate in educational policy formulation?

In the Report the Examiners have pointed to a number of weaknesses in the educational policy process in Canada. They are:

a) A tendency to allow the claims of mere expansion of the system to take the place of careful consideration of the social and intellectual role of education in the Canadian society of the future.

b) An unwillingness, or inability, to think deeply about and discuss thoroughly a range of alternatives to present practice; to evaluate them; and to present the choices made in a persuasive framework of alternatives described, discussed, evaluated, and rejected.

c) The failure to establish structures and procedures whereby all the parties concerned with education can be actively brought into discussion of issues, on a regular, systematic and recognised basis, aiming at building up a sense of genuine participation by the interests involved in policy-formulation, implementation and evaluation.

8,9. Are these criticisms justified? If so, what proposals are being made by the responsible authorities to remedy the conditions they describe?

Professor Noah introduced the second cluster of questions by noting that discussions and negotiations on education in Canada were enriched by the activity of voluntary organizations, in particular teachers', parents', and trustees' organizations. Students' organizations have flourished in the past, had a period of semi-dormancy and now appear to be being established again on a new basis. Representatives of these organizations had told the Examiners that they found it very difficult to receive information about projected developments in the educational system, to know what was going on, and to participate in deliberations leading toward change. They felt that the system was fairly impermeable to outside consultation, intervention and suggestion. The voluntary organisations considered they had far too little access to information about Council of Ministers' deliberations and decisions and far too little opportunity to intervene at an appropriate stage before decisions were finally made in the Council. The Examiners, thought this to be unfortunate, because the organisations seemed to be producing some rather good, sophisticated research, discussion of alternative policies, and practical suggestions for change. If there were ever to be a deliberate attempt to move away from the rather piece-meal, pragmatic mode of formulating Canadian policies in education toward a somewhat more systematic, nationally-based consideration of education policies, one of the conditions for this to happen would be an attitude of much more openness toward the voluntary organisations and a great deal more willingness to give them credit for interesting, useful ideas. The Examiners would welcome comments by the Canadian delegation on that view of the place of voluntary organisations in Canadian educational policy-making.

Mr. Hanuschak said that in recent years teachers' and trustees' organisations have received far more information from government than they ever did before. In many provinces, committees consisting of representatives of teachers, trustees and government officials work regularly on the problems facing Departments of Education. There is a free and open exchange of information, full provision of all the data required by any organisation to do whatever study of educational issues it wishes, and freedom to turn in whatever recommendations it may wish to make to government. Mr. Hanuschak emphasized that the Council of Ministers of Education has not set itself up as the supreme policy-making body. The Council exists for consultative purposes and for exchange of information. The ultimate authority for the delivery of an education programme still rests with the Ministers of Education of each province of Canada. That is why there is no direct access by the national voluntary organisations to the Council of Ministers of Education. The most effective impact that any such organisations can and do have on education is through their provincial chapters, rather than through the central national office.

Apart from these organisations, having the capacity to speak with a unified voice, there is the unorganised voice of the people of Canada, and they too have views to express. In all provinces, the Department of Education receives opinions from citizens. Task forces and commissions present an excellent opportunity for the unorganised community to speak and present its views.

The final responsibility for synthesizing the views of various organisations continues to rest with the elected officials. They are the ones who are held accountable for the final decisions taken. Mr. Hanuschak concluded that, as an elected representative, he considered himself a representative of all people within his constituency, teachers, trustees, trade unionists and chamber of commerce members alike. He was elected to represent them, to make certain decisions on their behalf within the structure of Canada's system of government.

The Hon. Gerald S. Merrithew (Minister of Education, New Brunswick) commented that literally dozens of groups wish to influence education. The list is very long. The national organisations operate through their local chapters and that is the only appropriate way for them to operate at present. Many provinces do try to use these groups in the formation of policy.

Mr. Mercier pointed out that there were many ways in which the voluntary organisations could participate in decision-making. In Quebec, for example, there are the ordinary legislative and judicial bodies, commissions of inquiry, and standing consultative machinery (Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, Conseil des universités). All are open to representations from the interest groups. Every year parliamentary commissions discuss plans, programmes and budgets for education, and any association can present its views before the Assemblée Nationale takes legislative action. In Quebec and Ontario, at least, there have recently been two commissions of inquiry that raised quite a racket. Again, any group or individual can ask to appear and voice its opinions. Within the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation there are Catholic and Protestant committees. The Conseil des universités has representatives of the administrations, the professoriate and the students as members.

Mr. Mercier noted a strange paradox, however. Organisations often demand loudly to be heard and to be consulted, but they are so suspicious of the mechanisms that have been established for just that purpose that they pass resolutions in their meetings not to take part in consultative processes. Hence, the confidence expressed by the Examiners in the value of encouraging closer attention to what the voluntary organisations are saying, may be somewhat questionable.

Mr. Fleck emphasized that where the prime responsibility for policy-making rests with the province, it is the provincial chapter of these same organisations which will have the more significant impact on the policy-making process. Indeed, they do have such influence. In all of the provinces, many of these groups have access to the Minister and to other officials of the ministry.

With regard to Question 7 there are real dilemmas and concerns touched upon, but they certainly do not lend themselves to simplistic solutions. For example, in Question 7, Point a), reference is made to the "claims of mere expansion". Canada is now in a period of consolidation and rationalization, and growth has ended. This raises difficulties when school officials press the policy-makers to continue providing the level of funding that was readily available in the 1960s, but is certainly not available in the 1970s. One cannot continue to improve and expand school facilities when the size of the pupil population does not justify such expansion.

Question 7, Point b) refers to an "unwillingness to consider alternatives". The Examiners and the other members of the committee may be assured that many alternatives are being considered. But there are problems. In Ontario, for example, there is serious consideration of "alternative education", that aspect of education that goes on beyond the walls of the school. The policy question is whether or not students at the secondary level may obtain diploma credit for learning experiences outside the school. Discussion of this issue has involved representatives of the teaching profession. But the fact that Ontario's policy-makers are even addressing themselves to this question is a serious threat to the teaching profession, because every credit toward a diploma that a student earns outside of school is one less credit that he will require to earn inside the school. All this is a threat to the tenure of professional teachers, and added to the prospect of falling school enrolments, the threat becomes serious.

Question 7, Point c) speaks of an alleged failure to establish structures and procedures for the involvement of the various parties. Other members of the Canadian delegation have already referred to structures for such involvement. It must be borne in mind, too, that the time taken to involve these organisations in such discussion very often delays a decision. Ministers often have to abjure making an obvious quick decision on an issue, so that consultation can take place with teachers, trustees, and other interest groups. Simple solutions to the kinds of problems that have been posed are just not possible.

Mr. Roeloffs (Germany) asked whether Canada had developed some mechanism for providing the Federal Authorities with national responses to educational policy developments, or whether this was handled on an ad hoc basis by commissions.

Mr. E.C. Appleyard (United Kindgom) observed that the question of the participation of interest groups in policy-making was of interest to the United Kingdom, following the grilling the U.K. received in December, 1974. If interest groups are to play an effective part in policy-making, or make effective representations, they need access to the relevant data and the capability to handle this data. This is something that is certainly lacking in the United Kingdom. The Department of Education and Science receives many statistical returns from educational institutions and from local authorities, and much of this is published in Statistics of Education. Nevertheless, a lot of information received by the Department is not published. It is available if people ask for it, but it is not readily available. Then there is the ability to handle these data. On a number of issues, such as teacher supply and the number of places in higher education, decisions are given in numerical form, and when they are announced, teachers' representatives and students' representatives do not have an understanding of the issues on a par with an official department. They are unable to understand all the issues. Often the only response that they can make to whatever number the Department produces, is to say it should be more, despite evidence of demographic trends, for example. Mr. Hanuschak's comment, that all relevant data are made available to any interested organisation to enable it to make its own representations, reveals a most commendable situation. But how exactly is this done; is it done on a regular basis, or on request; and do the federal or provincial authorities provide support to the interest groups, to develop the ability to handle these data?

Mr. Ozdil (Turkey) asked if there is a felt, but perhaps unfulfilled, need for the formulation of national policies for education in Canada? If so, is there also a need for establishing structures and procedures to be instrumental for such policies?

Mr. J.M. Boillat (Switzerland) said that the parallels between Switzerland and Canada in the organisation of the educational system were striking. Switzerland, too, has many non-governmental organisations in education. Indeed, a private society called Research and the University now has representation on official bodies, and the Students Association is part of the University Conference, and so on. These ties are complemented by informal consultations between government and interest groups on every conceivable topic, however trivial, before a decision is made. And, then, and this is perhaps uniquely Swiss, comes the popular referendum, either by open or secret ballot. This guarantees that the "silent majority" also has a say in decision.

Mr. Boillat asked whether there was a similar opportunity in Canada to call for the people's opinion before making a concrete change.

Mr. Mandic (Yugoslavia) asked how large was the influence of teachers on the policy-making process.

Mr. Hanuschak stated that most organisations, particularly those closely connected with education, do have the expertise and the sophistication to handle the data produced by ministries. In Canada, the teachers' organisations have grown into fairly complex and elaborate structures. The same is generally true of the trustees' organisations.

Mr. Hanuschak asserted that there is no unfulfilled need to establish national policies and that, therefore, there is no need to establish structures and procedures for the development of national policies. Replying to the question posed by the member from Switzerland, Mr. Hanuschak said that none of the issues related to education go to the people directly by way of a referendum. At one time the electors took a direct vote on capital expenditures for school construction on the Province of Manitoba, but that is no longer the case. Ministers have to take the responsibility for making those decisions. And if bad decisions are taken the electorate has an opportunity to express either their support or lack of it at the next election.

The prime interest of teachers' organisations is the welfare of their membership. So, when advice comes in from the teachers, ministers are mindful that here is an organisation speaking in the interest of its members, in the same way that when the Federation of Labour meets, it speaks in the interest of the trade union movement.

Mr. Roberts replied to Mr. Roeloffs' question by saying that there are contacts at the federal level with national organisations. For example, the Federal Government is deeply involved in the support of university research in Canada. Hence, the national organisations which are most concerned, especially the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada and the Canadian Association of University Teachers, keep in touch about those programmes, and make their contributions to the formulation of policies. Similarly, with the programme in bilingualism and education for the native peoples, there are contacts with a variety of national associations. Sometimes representatives of these organisations turn up in Ottawa with questions or proposals which go beyond Federal jurisdiction. In such circumstances, they are politely offered coffee, and the suggestion that they speak to the appropriate people at the provincial level.

Mr. Mercier, commenting on the question raised by the member from Switzerland, cited the procedures used in Quebec to assess the progress and problems of the collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel (CEGEPs). The Conseil supérieur de l'éducation was instructed to make an inquiry. As a result, it received 340 memoranda, voicing all types of opinion. The Conseil produced its report that went to the minister. The minister published it, but then has to decide what to do. One route is to prepare a White Paper for the Assemblée nationale, providing a critique of the Conseil report, and recommendations for action. A parliamentary inquiry, again open to all representations, can follow. But, finally, a decision must be made, and that will be a political choice. If all this is, in fact, a way of testing the views of the people; it's a circular and indirect route, of which there is a great deal.

As regards the notion of Canadian educational goals, that's something not very clear. The term "national goals" means something different to each Canadian present here from the different provinces. Quebec certainly has national goals in education; perhaps the national goal for education in Canada is to have national objectives as far as there are objectives in the provinces.

There is an ample flow of information to the organisations concerned with education. Working groups are established to study a problem. These working groups produce a working paper which is then circulated to those organisations which would have an interest in a problem area. Ordinarily, a minimum of 18 months would be provided for an organisation to react to any important matter before decisions are taken at the policy level. Apart from official working documents, there are the bi-weekly Official Bulletin, the monthly bulletin Informec, and the press. The most serious shortcoming in the documentation is that, too often, the documents omit estimates of the costs of the ambitious programmes of the educators.

Mr. Hanuschak pointed out that the best occasion for the public to address itself to education issues comes during the debate in the House on the budget estimates for the Education Department. Everyone, including the voluntary organisations, is aware of that. It is not uncommon for a voluntary organisation to lobby with the party caucuses of the Opposition, as well as of the Government. It is not uncommon during the estimates debate even for backbenchers sitting on the government side to express their personal views on education issues. And, of course, the elected members of Legislative Assemblies or of Provincial Parliaments in Canada are the elected representatives of their constituents, and they speak for their constituents.

Mr. J.S. Hrabi (Associate Deputy Minister, Department of Education, Alberta) said that teachers make a very substantial contribution to forming educational policies in all of the Canadian provinces, but, as the Examiners clearly pointed out in their Report, it is important to distinguish when the policies advocated by teachers are altruistic (that is, for the good of their clients) and when they are somewhat more selfish (that is, for the good of the teachers). Mr. Hrabi welcomed the very astute observations of the Examiners on this very difficult subject.

III. SCHOOL GOVERNANCE

Questions

The Examiners have noted a number of problematic features about school boards:

- although the school boards are elected, participation by the electorate is generally weak (15 to 20 per cent of the eligibles); this factor alone raises the question of the representativeness of school boards;
- the financial autonomy of the school boards is severely constrained;
- school boards have generally little influence over specifically pedagogical questions, and questions of budget absorb the lion's share of their time;
- the school boards could constitute a weakness in a system aimed at equality and at the protection of minorities. (Indeed, for reasons of organisational efficiency, the territorial jurisdictions of school boards have almost everywhere been considerably enlarged).

10. These observations raise the question: Are the school boards, in fact, efficacious instruments for achieving broad participation in policy making and pedagogical progress?
The organisation of education introduces strong elements of competition among schools and among school boards. Richer school boards can pay for "better" teachers.

11. In such a system what becomes of the principle of equality?

12. Is it possible for the children of a particular jurisdiction to become the victims of the poverty of that jurisdiction, or of the negligence of the school board?

13. How does one conduct a policy of "positive discrimination" in favour of those who have special needs? The usual answer is that it is possible to have supplementary Provincial and Federal projects and financing.

14. But if these are to be important sources of additional funds, what then becomes of the principle of local financial autonomy?
A policy of equality of opportunity in education presupposes a redistribution of revenue among the Provinces, and within the Provinces, among the localities. It could also presuppose a policy of positive discrimination in favour of the "disinherited", the handicapped, and the minorities.

15. Is the tradition of decentralisation in favour of school boards compatible with the demand for equality?

16. If the answer is "Yes", under what condition is this so?

17. Could not the general objectives aimed at by the Provinces (equality; a flexible, adaptive system serving the students and particular local characteristics) be better served by a system:

- that centralised at the Provincial level (taking into account also any Federal resources) the provision of financial resources? (The advantages would be simplification of administration, and a means of working towards equality, and even of positive discrimination);
- that confided to Provincial administration a general role of initiation, organisation of contacts and communication, coordination and control, as well as relations with authorities external to the Province and to Canada?
- that applied principles of administrative and pedagogical decentralisation to the school boards, on which there were representatives of the professional staff, the parents, the students, employers and trade-union?

18. Is it proposed to move in the near future in any of these directions?

19. What are the obstacles and objections to doing so?

Mr. Kjell Eide introduced the Examiners' questions on the topic of school governance by pointing out that the topic is closely related to those already discussed.

The question of school governance can be organised by thinking of four models that would exemplify most school governance systems in the OECD member countries:

a) The student-run school. This is rarely found. Indeed the Examiners found nothing of this kind in Canada. Nor is there much admixture of elements of student representation in school governance in Canada, as can be found in some other countries. Indeed, the pattern of school organisation in Canada would tend to inhibit development along these lines.

b) The local-community control model. Switzerland approaches this model fairly closely. Canada does not, and the move to "rationalizing" (consolidating) school districts means a trend away from local-community power. The Examiners gained the impression that school boards did not have very much of a say on essential school matters. On the other hand, there were doubts that even strong school boards would necessarily imply local community representation in decision-making. The

Examiners had grave doubts about the representativeness of such school boards. Putting it a little bluntly, the typical representative on the school board is a middle-class housewife, whose children have grown up, giving her time to spare; a retired civil servant; a professional who has come to the point where he could work half time; or, an aspiring politician who sees school board work as a stepping stone to some more interesting and promising political career. This is not a very wide range of backgrounds and it does not ensure representativeness. Added to this, as far as the Examiners could understand, candidates for election to the boards practically never had an education policy in their platforms. The candidate ran for office on his trustworthiness as a citizen. Low rates of voter participation in elections were typical, and school administration was normally separated from all other local administration, often covering different districts, but certainly with no formal links to any other local affairs. All this reinforced the Examiners' doubts that the existing mechanisms constitued an effective means for exerting local control and influence. Hence, the community-control model does not fit the Canadian situation very well.

c) The central political control model. This is found in a number of European countries. With possibly the exception of Quebec, it does not fit Canada. Even at the Provincial level political debates on education matters are rare, so they are obviously not matters that are watched in great detail by provincial politicians--again, with the possible exception of Quebec.

d) Internal system control model. "System" here means the entire range from teachers at one end to Provincial administration at the other. This is the model that best describes the Canadian situation. Where within the system are power and government located? The Examiners' Report sets out a number of reasons why the provincial bureaucracies have the means to exert a fairly tight control (which reinforces the conclusion that the Canadian system should not be described as an extreme version of decentralization). The extent to which these means of control and governance are used differs considerably. Quite often they are not extensively used to effect detailed control. The system of governance seems to be moving in what might be called a "brokered-decision" direction, with compartmentalised responsibilities, increasing reliance upon experts in various fields (subject experts, experts in a variety of specialities, such as guidance, test-

> ing, and so forth). It is a system that is fairly tightly closed off from influence from the outside, dominated by vertical divisions internally, and increasingly specialized and compartmentalized. A hierarchy of responsibilities is developing, which leaves the ordinary teacher right at the bottom of the decision-making ladder with very little real influence. A technocratic organisation pattern has developed that reflected organisational structures of the school's.

There is the question whether Canadians would accept this extremely generalized description of their system. The Examiners may have seen it all wrong. On the other hand, if this picture is fairly correct, the question remains: Is this the kind of direction in which Canadians want to go? Is this the result of a deliberate policy decision that this is the kind of school system Canada wants, or is it something that has more or less developed through internal forces within the school system, in a direction that has never been faced squarely from a political point of view?

Mr. Mercier thought that, in view of the many questions posed by the Examiners, he would not be able to answer all of them, or answer them to the satisfaction of all his colleagues in the Canadian delegation. They would speak to the situation in their own provinces. But there was one point that all provinces have in common: the need to strengthen the school boards (commissions scolaires). They are regarded as indispensable instruments for the democratic provision of education, adapted to the needs of each locality and region. They also provide the ideal instrument for distributing provincial funds. Canada does not follow Model N° 1 (student-run schools), if only because the community-run schools have been relatively successful.

Is there a tendency toward bureaucratization of provincial school systems, to the extent that it is possible that there will eventually develop a vertically integrated system? Mr. Mercier thought not. Just as the federal Authorities recognize that the provinces have jurisdiction in education, so the provinces recognize the important role of local and regional bodies. In sum, the most significant tendency at the moment is that towards decentralization, a tendency that is seen in all the provinces.

All the questions posed in this cluster seem to rest on assumptions that the school boards have no autonomy, or that their autonomy is constrained; that they do not discuss pedagogical questions, but are preoccupied with the administration of public funds; and that their meagre resources forbid following policies that lead to equality of provision. The picture described in the Examiners' Report does not correspond to the facts. Indeed, Canadian policies and institutions are aimed at either equalizing services in education or for some special groups) providing compensatory services.

Federal funds are disbursed in a relatively equitable manner to all the Provinces. The fundamental principle of federal equalization grants is that, no matter what each province's level of resource endowment, each provincial government should have available to it the financial resources it needs to provide an average level of provincial services (including education), but funds are spent according to priorities established by each province. In 1973-74, seven provinces received equalization grants totalling $ 1,500 millions.

In addition, since 1967 supplementary grants are made to the provinces, calculated on the basis of the provinces' post-secondary expenditures. These grants provide substantial sums for provincial use without strings attached. Each province adds further funds, and the localities raise further funds by imposing real estate taxes that can cover as much as 30 per cent of school board expenditures.

In Quebec, the process of equalizing resources among school boards occurred in stages. First, the tax base of each locality was identified, and the ability of each locality to finance education was defined according to five indicators. Second, the expenditures of each school board were standardized, and provincial funds were provided to make up any shortfalls. Although this process could be regarded as a centralizing tendency, it was instituted to eliminate the disparities between rich and poor areas in Quebec.

The school boards retain a great deal of autonomy. They hire the teachers and administrators, determine the curriculum options, fix the school calendar, authorize leaves, set aside days for planning, and establish standards for graduation (provincial examinations having virtually ceased to be given). Thus, in answer to Questions 10, 11, and 12, the school boards are effective instruments for extending popular participation in education and for determining policies. They are close to the people. The law provides for parents' committees, and the school boards must listen to them. The Examiners fear that the richer school boards will have the means to hire the best teachers. That is not so. Or, it's not the case in Quebec, where teachers are paid according to a provincial scale.

Question 13 asks how one conducts a policy of positive discrimination in favour of those with special needs. According to the Examiners, the response is generally in terms of special projects and additional funds provided by the provinces. But, they ask, if large sums are being provided from a higher level, what becomes of the principle of local autonomy? Well, it is certainly the case that the school boards are diligent to maintain their autonomy in such areas as local taxation.

Question 15 asks whether the tradition of decentralization in favour of school boards is compatible with demands for equality? The tradition of decentralization, indeed, insures ever greater equality and, what is not mentioned here, greater administrative efficiency. There was a phase when centralization was required, to define norms and standards of service. Now we are in a period when the local authorities are given as much authority as possible to decide how to spend their funds. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the school boards' margin of discretion is quite limited, for 70 percent of their budgets go for teachers' salaries and another 10 percent for other fixed expenses.

Mr. Hanuschak said that when school boards are dealing with budget, concurrently they are dealing with matters of educational policy. They are dealing with priorities, what degree of priority a school board will assign to one particular programme as compared to another. Even though in Manitoba, the ministry pays 100 percent of approved capital costs, it does not follow that someone in the ministry has a set of blueprints that he hands over to a school board, saying "This is the type of school you will build". The school board determines the type of building that it will build within certain financial limitations. And the type of building that is built will be determined by policy considerations, the type of educational programme that the school wishes to offer its students and the provision that it may wish to make for community use. So consideration of budgetary items and educational planning and policy making are very closely related.

Mr. Eide said he was disappointed to have a response devoted so largely to Quebec, when the situation was so different in other provinces.

Professor Noah reminded the Committee that when the Examiners were in Canada, they received a considerable volume of comment from school board trustees on the way they perceive the system of educational governance operating at the provincial and local levels. These comments by no means corresponded with the descriptions just given by members of the Canadian Delegation. Many school board members did not feel that the range of competence that they now enjoy in practice corresponded with the rhetoric and with the formal legislative and regulatory language. While school board structures may well have met reasonably adequately the demands of a past era, they are not meeting very well the demands of the present. School board trustees seemed to feel that the elements of provincial control on the one side and their potential for representing local interests on the other side are not satisfactory. Hence, the Examiners were somewhat disappointed at what they would interpret as a response which did not meet this series of criticisms adequately, and that tended to convey the impression that on the whole all is beautiful in the garden of Canadian educational administration at the Provincial-local interface.

Mr. Fleck observed that the Examiners' Report contained some most perceptive and sensitive observations concerning the issue of decentralization vis-à-vis democratisation. Over the past few years the Provincial governments have tended to decentralize much of the policy implementation and the selection of local priorities to the school boards. At the same time, it is recognized that school boards themselves have become larger bureaucratic organizations with responsibilities for larger geographic areas with more schools and more students. And therein lies the dilemma. The citizen hears from his provincial authorities--and quite rightly so--that there has been a great deal of decentralization in education, yet he also sees power over educational decisions moving farther away to larger and more remote school boards. Nevertheless, the combination of decentralization of decision-making from the provincial authority to the local authority, plus the provision of equalized fiscal resources has brought broader opportunities to every child. In Ontario, for example, prior to the formation of those larger units of administration, it was patently obvious that there were poorer and richer school boards, but it is certainly no longer obvious--because of the equalization structures that have been described.

Mr. Fleck posed a question to the Examiners: Drawing upon their experience with other countries' educational systems, would the Examiners have any advice to give on how one can relieve the sense of frustration felt by the local citizen who, while he must admit he is enjoying access to a wider diversity of educational service, somehow feels less involved in the decision-making processes that are providing that service?

Mr. Eide reiterated that the term "positive discrimination" refers to the fact that there are individuals, schools and school districts which will need more than average resources to perform at an average level. Equalization procedures are a notable achievement, but even so, existing inequalities have been modified short of the point where all districts dispose of equal resources. The point is, however, that the term "positive discrimination" would mean the opposite, would mean that the weakest areas get the most resources.

In many provinces a process of centralization has taken place. Now there is a clear interest in reversing this process in some way. There are difficulties involved in doing this. One of them is obviously that the existing mechanisms which in principle could be used to reverse the centralization tendency may be relatively weak instruments for that. This is a dilemma for which there is no immediate answer. The Examiners had some general comments to put forward, not as a solution, but simply to ease the present difficulties. They are indicated in Question 17 where it is pointed out that there is no necessary connection between local autonomy and the existence of a rather antiquated local property tax system. Secondly, the duties of provincial administration could increasingly be discharged by using what the Examiners have termed "informative" instruments, with less earmarking, approving of specific plans, and so on. The third question concerns the kind of mechanisms which could bring a real sense of participation to parents, students, and professional staffs (although the latter have their say in many ways already). There are a number of models extant in other countries that may be useful. If the need for new mechanisms that could ensure broader participation is felt, there are certainly mechanisms about to help realise it.

Mr. Hrabi observed that, in the Province of Alberta, the first objective is equality of opportunity and financing. The second objective is precisely that raised by Mr. Eide: Effective positive discrimination in favour of those groups and jurisdictions requiring greater resources to provide a programme that other areas can provide with fewer resources. Alberta had tried to move in that direction by the following means:

a) In addition to the basic foundation programme, there is a small school grant. Per-unit costs are higher in small schools, so the grant enables small schools and small jurisdictions to survive.
b) A small jurisdiction grant is given that recognizes that a small jurisdiction has not got the scale to enable it to distribute its administrative costs over large numbers.
c) A new programme, called a Supplementary Requisition Equalization Grant, provides that jurisdictions that have very low assessments may raise on the basis of one mil a substantial amount of money which they could not otherwise raise.
d) In the Northern jurisdiction of Alberta, the Northland School Division, there are no substantial local resources for providing schools. Total financing is provided by the Province, in order to do precisely what Mr. Eide suggested--to discriminate positively.

IV. BILINGUALISM

Questions

If the Federal Government and the Provinces consider that French-English bilingualism is an important element in the development of a Canadian society, and ought to be represented by an active policy in the realm of education, the following observations and questions seem to be pertinent:

M. René Matte pointed out in Parliament, on 27th March, 1974, that the problems of bilingualism are not the same for the anglophone and francophone groups. For the first, he said, it is a matter of comprehending; but for the second, it is a matter of survival.

20. Given that this is a correct statement of the situation, does it not call for the adoption of a policy of positive discrimination in favour of the French language and Franco-Canadian culture?

21. Would it not be opportune to create, at the Federal level, a National Council for the development of French culture, able to study the question of the broadest scale and following up closely on programmes and difficulties?

22, 23. In the interest of the national goal of developing bilingualism, can the obstacles be identified and overcome; and can the Federal government see a way to make it possible for the Provinces to co-operate fully without their feeling a loss of constitutional rights?

Professor Michel Crozier, speaking on behalf of the Examiners, said that they had based their discussion of the subject of bilingualism on the essential and simple fact that Canada had two founding languages, rooted in two different cultures, each of them vigorous. This is a fact of importance not only for education, but for all of Canadian society. In addition, the Examiners were aware that while linguistic conflicts are common, they also carry an emotional charge that is somewhat greater than most other social problems. Even though Canada faces some grave problems, and even though they may not be solved very well, nevertheless Canada is solving them better than most countries.

It seemed that one of the most difficult problems for each group to perceive is that there is an absence of symmetry, and that symmetry is impossible to attain, given the circumstances. One group has a strong numerical preponderance, is economically dominant, and finds support from the extremely dynamic Anglophone community of North America. The other group is in a minority in Canada, and constitutes an extreme minority on the continent as a whole. In terms of political science theory, a forced integration of two systems, of which one is in a minority, will result in the further weakening of the minority system, especially if the integration is pushed too far and too fast. Hence, if integration is not to destroy the minority community, it must enjoy a certain protection. But, it is not up to experts to advise which policies should be chosen, as between pushing towards integration as rapidly as possible (because Canada desires that) and giving priority to protecting the weaker partner in the system.

A further basic element in the Examiners' thinking was that in all societies we are witnessing a rather paradoxical development. On the one hand, there is the extension of communications and interaction over wider and wider areas, demanding greater degrees of comprehension and closer relationships. On the other hand, there is a very strong renaissance of linguistic and cultural minorities. Thus, just when it seems that human beings might derive a great advantage from maximizing their ability to communicate widely, they appear to be constrained to cling to their past, their traditions, and their culture, to all that constitutes for them a sense of autonomy.

The Examiners further consider that the existence of two major languages and cultures in Canada should be considered as a potential benefit, and not simply as a problem. Specifically, the existence of a large francophone community could constitute an asset, a capital element for development. Within such a framework, problems that are among the most difficult that Canada has faced may become resolvable.

A central suggestion the Examiners wish to make is that the potential for positive discrimination in favour of the francophone community is not to be found within a framework of legal prescription, but through a recognition that the development of the francophone community would be in the interest of Canada as a whole. With this in view, the Examiners asked themselves whether the creation of a National Council for the development of French culture would not be useful as an expression of the interest that all of Canada has in the development of francophone culture. Such a body would help in analysing the difficulties in the way of developing this culture, and the means that might be brought to bear to accelerate its development.

Mr. Hanuschak said that he wished to remind the Committee that it should not be simply assumed that Canadians are two basic groups, the Anglophones and the Francophones, with the Anglophones having an interest in (French) bilingualism for the purpose of comprehension, and the Francophones for the purpose of survival. There are other groups of Anglophones, equally concerned for the preservation of bilingualism in the interest of the national survival. These are the many minority ethnic groups who have a particular concern that bilingualism be preserved and promoted, because if Canada's concept of multiculturalism is to have any real meaning and hope of survival then bilingualism must survive.

Mr. Roberts said that the bilingual issue is an extremely emotional one. As Professor Crozier said, although Canada has not produced a perfect solution, she has, perhaps, done better than most. The Canadian Government agrees very strongly indeed that the fact of being a bilingual country is not at all a handicap. It is, as Professor Crozier said, a trump card, a major portion of Canada's wealth, and an advantage for individual citizens as well as for the country as a whole.

The quotation from the speech by Mr. René Matte, on which the Examiners based their questions, does not lead in the right direction, or at least it does not lead far enough. The bilingualism programmes run by the federal government stem from the reports of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission). A crucial statement in that report said that, without actually always being aware of it, Canada was now going through a major crisis, the major crisis of its history. The Commission considered Canada faced real change, from which will result either a rupture or a new advance in the conditions of the country's existence. The Commissioners went on to make a number of recommendations about what should be done to deal with the situation. Those recommendations, which brought the federal government to mount particular programmes dealt with the question of national unity, of the continued existence of Canada as an integral country. The recommendations were essentially political, and the programmes the federal government is carrying out are therefore essentially political. The survival in which the federal government is fundamentally interested is Canada's political survival as a country. Therefore, when Mr. Matte in his speech in the House of Commons spoke of survival, he was probably thinking linguistically, in terms of the survival of the French language in Canada. This is a related, but different, question.

The aim of the federal bilingual programmes is not primarily insurance of the continued existence of the French, English, or any particular language in Canada, but rather the achievement of a linguistic situation which is most likely to permit survival on the basis of the kind of contract on which the country was put together. One can argue that this perception of the problem is wrong, but there can be no argument but that that is the perception. The linguistic situation which will provide the best change of national survival is not one in which the French language (a minority language in Canada and in North America, as Professor Crozier pointed out) retreats behind barriers into isolation and tries to develop alone. Quite the contrary; the Federal Government's view is that the French language in Canada must achieve everywhere across the country the same degree of acceptance, understanding, respect and even affection that the

English language now enjoys in the Province of Quebec. What is being attempted is bilingualism and not better or more refined unilingualism.

Nevertheless, the French language is, in fact, getting the lion's share of federal funds for bilingualism, and that is quite proper given the imbalance that Professor Crozier referred to. Even in the Province of Quebec, where the basic financial support is for the teaching of English, there are nevertheless some programmes which are devoted to the teaching of French to the Anglophone minority in the Province. In addition to that, or apart from that, there are major activities going on in the Provinces, and especially in the Province of Quebec, which are designed to strengthen the French language. The most notable of these was a piece of legislation passed a few weeks ago in the *Assemblée nationale* in Quebec which had that specific purpose in view. So that, although the strengthening of the French language, important as it is, is not the primary objective of the federal programmes, it is the objective of other programmes.

The federal government has provided massive support to French language broadcasting in Canada. The national broadcasting service in Canada has two networks, one English and one French. The two networks are now undergoing a major and very costly expansion which will bring the service to every community of 5,000 people or more, in its own language. This means that within about 5 years from now every city or town in Canada which has a Francophone population of 5,000 or more will have the French language service of Radio-Canada brought to it. This service already exists, for example, in the cities of Toronto, Edmonton, and Winnipeg. It will shortly begin in Vancouver. It will come in due course to the small cities of the Western Prairies. At the same time, the service in English will be brought to all Anglophone communities in Canada, wherever they may be.

Bilingual programmes in Canada must be seen as a very long-term proposition. A start has been made with the Federal public service, where attempts to bilingualize have occasioned a great deal of pain, anguish, and misery. Beyond that will come efforts to bilingualize institutions in Canada outside the Federal public service, and to do this as quickly as possible, not only at the Federal level, but at the Provincial and municipal level and in the private sector. Beyond that, and this is a very long-range ambition, there is the prospect of the bilingualization, if one may use such a terrible word, of a very large number of individual citizens in the country. The immensity of the problem is one that perhaps many Europeans do not understand, or if they understand it, they have not perceived it at first hand, because in so many parts of Europe other languages are so much a part of everyday life. In Canada, though, you travel 500, even

2,000, miles and people are still speaking the same language they were speaking when you departed. In a situation like that it is not easy to motivate people in (or outside) school to learn another language.

Question 21 raises the possibility of creating at the federal level a National Council for the development of French culture. It follows from what I have said earlier that this is neither desirable nor undesirable; it is simply not our objective. There are institutions in Canada who do take this as their objective and purpose--most importantly, the Government of the Province of Quebec. The federal government tends to be rather shy of national councils. Those that exist are not always easy bodies to deal with.

Question 22 asks whether the obstacles to bilingualism can be identified and overcome. One has to be an optimist in this business, and on the basis of the five years' experience with these programmes, optimism is justified. Federal efforts are persuading private citizens, teachers, educational authorities and administrators of the importance of advancing bilingualism and of the really immense advantages, both national and individual, that there are to be had from it. There is an awareness of lack of information, of the need to do research, a great deal of it, in teaching methods, and in ways of motivating school children in particular, but not only school children, to learn second languages.

Mr. A. Mitsuta (Japan) observed that Japan too has problems with teaching foreign languages. In particular, there is the problem of the balance between foreign languages and the other school subjects. In Japan, curricula are already overloaded and how to reduce them is a critical question for Japanese educational policy today.

Mr. G.A. O'Sullivan (Ireland) said that Question 22 contained a reference to the national goal of developing bilingualism. Is this a uniform policy for all the provinces; is it a policy which aims at equality of competence in the two languages in all parts of the country; or is it a policy which assumes that one or other of the languages would be dominant, depending on the traditions and on the culture of the majority of the people in a particular province or locality?

Mr. Roberts replied that he suspected that, given the remarkable achievement of the Japanese people in learning foreign languages and, in particular, English, a good deal of research must be going on in Japan relevant to the pedagogy of second language teaching. In any event, the Canadian experience in these matters was that the key lay in research, and often slow and painful research, at that.

The Committee member from Ireland had asked whether the intention was to achieve a uniformity of bilingualistic competence among the Canadian provinces. This was not so, neither among the provinces, nor among individuals. The goal is to achieve an equality, not of competence, but of status, to use the technical term, for the two official languages everywhere in Canada. In some provinces, for example in the Province of New Brunswick which has a very large Francophone minority, there is likely to be a quicker bilingual development than in another province which has a very small or no Francophone minority.

Mr. Hanuschak added that considerable initiative has been taken by the Provinces to promote bilingualism. In many Provinces both English and French are languages of instruction of the school system, depending on the wishes of the local school authority. Not only is this legislation being taken advantage of by communities which are predominantly Francophone, but for example within the boundaries of the old city of Winnipeg, which is primarily Anglophone, a French language school has been established which is attracting large numbers of Anglophone students. The school commenced with Grade 1, and has now reached Grade 7 or 8. To assist in the orderly establishment and development of a French language programme, Manitoba has a Bureau d'éducation française, taking responsibility for the development of curriculum materials and able to advise those school divisions wishing to establish a programme of instruction in French.

Mr. R. Leestma (United States of America) said that his government had particular interest in this subject, in part because ethnic heritage studies had become a popular and almost a priority issue with a good many school systems in the United States. The motivation seemes to be twofold: one, beginning in the 1960s, is a renewed search for identity on the part of many groups; the other is the bicentennial celebrations--the 200th birthday of the United States which takes place in 1976. One of the major themes of that bicentennial celebration is ethnic heritage. Three years ago, a small Federal programme, called Ethnic Heritage Studies, was established. This has two principal objectives: to enable each child to learn more about the ethnic origins of his own family, and to help each child obtain a better appreciation of the contributions of his or her ethnic group to the national identity. By census enumeration, there are over a hundred different minority groups in the United States. The programme is proving to be an extremely rich stimulus to a good deal of activity in schools and colleges throughout the country, even though the programme is small. Some good things are coming out of this renewed look at the ethnic origins of the many people that make up the United States, as well as a renewed sense of the extent to which what we would like to think of as the national heritage in fact has multiple strands that have to be dealt with separately, as well as together.

Professor Noah said he wished to make three observations. First, the Examiners were very aware of the so-called "ethnic" elements in the Canadian population, that derived from neither an English-speaking nor a French-speaking tradition. The Examiners understood the complexities that that brings for the educational system, as well as the opportunities for the enrichment of Canadian culture. These considerations did not appear very much in the Report. Although the Examiners discussed them, they were at a loss as to how to handle them, from the point of view of policies for education. Second, the Examiners shared completely Mr. Roberts' wish to deal with the question of federal bilingual policies in terms of the enrichment and survival of Canada as a nation. The Examiners had thought, perhaps wrongly, that that indeed was the frame within which they had discussed bilingualism both in the body of the Report and in Appendix D. Third, the question arose in background documents and in discussion while in Canada of an apparent decline in the fraction of the young people in school who are Anglophone by origin and who are now studying French. There was either no growth or even some decline, and that worried the Examiners somewhat. They wondered what might be the social, cultural or perhaps pedagogical reasons for this decline in what had previously been a rather welcome increase in the proportion of the age group.

Mr. Hrabi said that the decline in the number of students who are studying French as a second language could be attributed to a loosening of requirements for entrance into post-secondary institutions, particularly universities. As short a time as six years ago, in Alberta, a student had to offer French as a second language to enter university. That is no longer the case. The student must offer French in order to enter the Faculty of Arts, but not if he wishes to enter any other faculty. The latest data show that, while there was a substantial drop in numbers learning French, that drop has now not only levelled off, but the curve has started to go the other way.

V. LEVELS OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM : PROBLEMS IN THE CONTENT OF EDUCATION

Questions

24. What improvements are being planned, or are in progress in kindergarten education? In particular, is attention being given to: the training and up-grading of specialized personnel, strengthened co-operation with the home, and lengthening of the kindergarten day?

25. Is it proposed to conduct a systematic, comprehensive evaluation of the many innovations in elementary school pedagogy that have been introduced in the past ten years?

26. Composite secondary schools appear to be general education schools that have received a tacked-on appendage - some courses called "industrial" or technical courses. Composite schools do not integrate closely technical and non-technical elements in their objectives, in order to create the basis for a new culture. In brief, the model of 19th century schooling has been taken, and has been made more universally available, by providing the less talented with activities that are considered to be more suited to their level.

27. Does such a conception permit the building of an educational system fitted to the demands of our times? Should it not be considered that technical knowledge can be the material for a theoretical and reflective approach, and as such could form a medium for cultural development at least as valuable as that provided by the traditional disciplines?

28. Does there exist a consensus concerning the main points of attention for the further development of the composite school?

29. Has the Federal Government's large role in the field of adult vocational training (more than one billion dollars in the budget of the Manpower Ministry) played a part in the difficulty of restructuring secondary education so that technology is really integrated in the curriculum, and hence in the culture? The reply is often given to remarks concerning the weakness of vocational education at the secondary level, that that does not pose much of a problem since there are abundant opportunities offered for every Canadian to return to such studies in adult courses.

30. To what extent does the Federal financing of such adult courses prevent the Provincial authorities from considering the question in its entirety and with concentration on the pedagogical and cultural aspects of the question, rather than on the financial?

The Examiners gained the impression that, in many instances, community colleges are regarded as safety-valves to relieve the pressure on universities, rather than as viable alternatives to university education, with their own special justification in terms of what they (the community colleges) can uniquely do.

31. Are there strong intentions and workable plans to eliminate this hierarchical situation?

32. Do the Canadian representatives consider that the observations made above about the desirability of integrating technical and non-technical elements in secondary school curricula apply also to the post-secondary sector?

33. In considering future plans for undergraduate teaching, is it intended to move away from development of a limited number of "centres of excellence" and prestige-institutions, towards a more egalitarian distribution of resources among the university institutions within each Province?

The present set of goals for adult education appears to the Examiners to be (in descending order of emphasis):

a) work- and employment-orientated;
b) certification orientated;
c) general-education orientated.

34. Is this an intentional and valid reflection of Canadian cultural priorities?

In general, and compared to other countries, Canadian education and training efforts seem heavily orientated towards manpower and employment goals.

35. Is it intended to continue this emphasis (perhaps out of regard for the employment problems that the Canadian economy has been recently experiencing and the special difficulties that recent immigrants find), or is it considered that the emphasis has continued long enough and with enough success that it is now possible to redress the balance, and emphasize broadly humanistic purposes?

Dr. Hamm-Brücher introduced the questions above by observing that the Examiners were most impressed by the rapid progress that Canadian education had been making. The comments and questions she would make were based on visits to as many schools as had been possible, as well as on the extensive documentation and discussion the Examiners had while in Canada.

There seemed to be developing a necessary period of consolidation, at all levels of the educational system, after a period of growth.

Although there were a few very interesting programmes in kindergartens, kindergarten teachers do not seem to be well enough trained for their special tasks. Nor do retraining and upgrading programmes for teachers seem to be well enough developed.

Primary school changes towards non-graded arrangements and continuous progress models are also impressive (especially for an Examiner from a country with a strict grading system). Perhaps, though, there are today just too many different approaches being tried, with not enough evaluation, both within each province and across the provinces.

The composite school (or, école polyvalente) is making a big contribution to the goal of equalizing children's educational opportunities. But there are still problems with integrating general courses with the more vocational orientated courses. Drop-out figures are rising, as in other countries, and they are like alarm signals. Are alternatives being planned for drop-outs? What should be offered to these young people, instead of the regular school programme, which obviously does not fit them?

In higher education, the Examiners have been much impressed by the expansion of the many different types of post-secondary education, in community colleges as well as in universities. The extent of provision for part-time students and mature students in higher education in Canada is quite unique. The Examiners have posed some questions about co-ordination of higher education in the future, and about co-operation between community colleges and universities. Is the Examiners' impression correct that the community colleges more or less serve to relieve universities from an excess of students? It is noteworthy that, after a period of slight decline in the number of students enrolling in universities, there is again a rise in the number of students at the university level. To what extent will these numbers rise in the next few years? The Examiners received the impression that adult education in Canada is perhaps too work- and employment-orientated, and not orientated enough in the direction of general education and enrichment programmes of all kinds.

Mr. Merrithew said that kindergarten, or early childhood education, is the newest part of the educational programme, and he was very pleased to hear that Dr. Hamm-Brücher was rather impressed by what she saw. There has been a concerted effort to make this programme more accessible, so that over 85 percent of the five-year-olds in Canada are now attending. However, there are still two provinces which do not have the kindergarten or early childhood education as a formal part of their programme, although they are well on the way to doing so. There is definitively a trend towards mandatory services at the school board level. Dr. Hamm-Brücher also mentioned the concern of the Examiners in regard to the quality of training of early childhood education teachers. Many provinces have had a very significant upgrading of qualifications among early childhood education teachers. As private kindergartens become part of the public school system, there has been a marked improvement in the training of the teachers in the handling of smaller children. Question 24 asks: Is there any suggestion that the kindergarten day should be lengthened? Generally speaking, the half-day programme is the most popular one. There is no concerted effort to lengthen the day, except perhaps for those who are handicapped and who could use the extra time. One noteworthy development is the trend towards admitting children into early childhood education at age 4. This is done particularly for children who are disabled in any way, either mentally, visually or orally. The other rather interesting trend is towards parent training. For example, in one programme in Calgary, a condition for receiving a grant for kindergarten education programming is that there had to be provision for training members of a parents' organisation, who would help in the care and training of the young children.

Question 25 is well taken. It asks if it is proposed to conduct a systematic, comprehensive evaluation of all these new programmes, and what happened to them after being introduced? First, where do innovative programmes come from? Do they come from the top, from the departmental level? Do they start in the individual school? There are as many answers to that as there are facets to education. Many of them come from the teaching staff who want to try something new. In most parts of Canada, teachers have a fairly free hand to do this, normally with the concurrence of the superintendent in the board. Innovation can also come from a superintendent who has a great interest in a certain area. It could come from a school board, or from the Department of Education, or sometimes even from universities. They generally start with a pilot project, involving maybe one, two, or three schools. They get extra support, of a professional and a financial nature. These groups at the local levels are usually subject to internal and external evaluation, on an ongoing basis. Not all of them survive, thank goodness. Those that do survive have the responsibility of disseminating the information. However, the key question here is: Is there a systematic comprehensive evaluation of the new programmes? It would appear that there is not, except that those which have become a broader part of the educational system, such as continuous progress, ungraded schools, and new methods in mathematics and in the language arts, are certainly subject to a good deal of evaluation.

Question 26 suggests that the comprehensive high schools are merely academic high schools with some appendages attached. It asks: Does this concept seem to be fitted to the demands of our times? That concept is certainly not viewed as acceptable to Canadian education now. It was applicable to the small rural or regional high schools in the 1950s, and it is still applicable in many areas of the country where the student population is sparse. But it is no longer the general attitude of educators towards the comprehensive or composite high school. There is a fairly free movement back and forth between the various programmes within the schools. There was a time when streaming was quite rigid. Once in a rigidly particular stream, a student could never ever get out. That is long gone.

Dr. Hamm-Brücher mentioned drop-out rates, and asked what alternatives might be provided to combat dropping out. The Examiners' Report itself showed that in ten years, between 1961-62 and 1971-72, the retention rate of children entering schools doubled. From 36.4 percent of young people staying in school till Grade XII the figure has gone to 71 percent. In other words, the comprehensive schools must have had some measure of success, because they seem to be working.

Question 27 asks whether technical knowledge can be the material for a theoretical, reflective approach. It can, and that view is generally accepted in Canada, although some of our technical programmes ought to have the aim of simply providing young persons with marketable, vocational skills.

Question 28 asks: Is there a consensus concerning the main points of attention for the further development of the composite school? There is a good deal more freedom now to allow the student to select courses and programmes more to his liking and, perhaps, to his abilities. However, there are ten provincial governments trying to establish an educational system, and there is probably no well-defined consensus concerning further development in composite schools, but there is an ongoing change in attitudes that will be reflected in schools of the future.

Mr. Bernard Dufresne (Department of Manpower and Immigration, Government of Canada), replied to Question 29. He said that the expenditures by Manpower and Immigration on vocational and technical training did not, in fact, create difficulties for the provincial school systems. First, course content and tuition fees are determined by the provincial ministries of education, not by Ottawa. Second, young people must be at least one year beyond the end of compulsory schooling to be admitted to federally funded vocational and technical training programmes, and they must have been out of school (or college) for at least a year.

As regards Question 30, the programmes function only as far as there exists a close partnership between the federal administrators of the vocational and technical education programmes and the provincial administrators of the adult education programmes. This close partnership does exist, and is reflected in each of the provinces, where the aim is to enable workers to enter and re-enter the labour force.

Mr. Merrithew responded to the impression received by the Examiners that, in many instances, community colleges are regarded as safety valves to relieve the pressure on universities. A general response is that community colleges are viable educational institutions with a very special role. The Canadian delegation does not see them as being either in conflict with universities, or as a safety valve for overflow. One exception is, of course, in the Province of Quebec, where students wishing to go to university must first attend a CEGEP. Hence, in CEGEPs, there are two basic populations: those aiming at the university, and those undertaking technical training.

Question 32 refers to the desirability of integrating technical and non-technical elements at the post-secondary level. As a general rule there is a good deal less emphasis than in the secondary schools on having technical and non-technical education in the same institutions. But this does not necessarily mean that it is not desirable. Maybe it is, but it is not a goal of Canadian educators at this particular time.

Question 33 asks whether Canada intends to continue the development of a limited number of centres of excellence, in prestige institutions at the university level. That has been a past trend. Certain universities have considered themselves to be superior to other universities. It is not planned to perpetuate that type of thinking, but it is perhaps desirable to support programmes of excellence, and faculties with excellent reputations, within the universities. The medical faculty in certain universities, and the forestry faculty in the University of New Brunswick, are well known nationally because of that particular faculty. Efforts are made to eliminate duplication, in the interests of economy, and more than ever before in the next few years this will have to be done.

Mr. Fleck said that in Ontario early childhood education has enjoyed extremely rapid growth. This has been particularly so for the 4-year olds, who are classified as being at the junior kindergarten level. Between the years 1966 and 1974, the growth has been from slightly over 3,000 children in the province registered in the junior kindergarten programme to a figure in excess of 23,000. At the kindergarten level, over 90 percent of the relevant population attends.

On Question 25 concerning innovations, Mr. Fleck said he was particularly pleased to see that the Examiners made reference in their Report to a more comprehensive type of evaluation process which has been instituted in the Province of Ontario, for application to school systems. This is an evaluation model not unlike the basic OECD model for the examination of Country Policies in Education. New approaches to evaluation, which are anything but the inspectoral model found previously in most Canadian school systems, are being tried out in many jurisdictions. This is a very encouraging sign.

On Question 33, Mr. Fleck said he would ask the Examiners to explain what they meant by the phrase "Centres of excellence at the post-secondary level?". In the Ontario context, within the past 20 years, the number of universities in the Province grew from a small handful of five or six institutions to now approximately 19 accredited universities. Indeed, several of the very young university institutions in Ontario have already established themselves not only on the Canadian scene, but on the world scene, as being in a certain sense centres of excellence in particular subject fields. In general, then, the possibility of any one or even several post-secondary institutions in Ontario being actually superior overall to the others is based on a type of historical perception, rather than on fact.

Question 24 voices the Examiners' impression that, in the field of adult education, far more emphasis was placed on education orientated towards work and employment, than on general education. In Ontario, a province which represents 35 percent of the population of Canada, 63 percent of the adults registered in the adult education programmes are taking courses in arts and crafts, cultural studies and leisure or hobby orientated skills, as opposed to the smaller fraction taking courses which have an orientation towards work and employment.

Mr. Mercier spoke of the realisation of centres of excellence in university education in Quebec. The most recently created university is the University of Quebec. This is a regional institution, with a number of campuses. The Conseil des universités has provided suggestions for a structure that would permit each campus of the University of Quebec (or of any other university) to develop a specialization in a particular discipline or department. The University of Quebec has had attached to it various institutes and research centres, while other universities have been allocated other facilities. Thus, in Quebec the concept of centres of excellence in higher education is already a fact.

Turning to the so-called problem of dropping out of school, Mr. Mercier remarked that is was somewhat paradoxical that on the one hand we constantly talk about the lack of adaptability of the school system to the demands of its clients, and on the other hand we judge the value of the system by looking at the numbers retained in it to the end. It is not self-evident that dropping out of secondary school is, in fact, a major problem. There is an extensive network of post-secondary institutions that are able to offer recurrent educational opportunities to those who wish to return to formal education. It is worth recalling that almost 50 percent of Quebec's student population in CEGEPs is in part-time enrollment (the fraction is 70 percent at the University of Quebec).

Mr. Mercier thought that, for once, it was not the fault of the federal authorities if there was a preponderance of federal influence in provincial trends in adult education. Federal intentions were quite unambiguous, and this was always clearly expressed by the federal officials in charge of the Canadian Manpower and Training Programme. They have never claimed that this is an adult education programme, but have insisted that it is one of the means whereby the Manpower Ministry meets the problem of retraining people who are unemployed, or of remedying skill shortages. This is a programme that is run remarkably well in a spirit of excellent co-operation by Mixed (federal-provincial) committees. It would not be correct to assume that the federal presence leads to federal determination of provincial adult education programmes. Mr. Mercier thought that in adult education matters the provinces did not assume their complete jurisdiction. Vocational and occupational training is one element in adult education, and hence is thought of as a proper field for federal involvement. Yet one should ask whether the provinces, who claim total authority over education, should not consider other avenues for the training of citizens than those provided by manpower training paid for from federal funds. The Quebec position is that the training of citizens, popular education, socio-cultural training, and so on, are provincial responsibilities, which are discharged unsatisfactorily, if at all. Large, and perhaps excessive, sums of money are devoted to regular compulsory schooling, and it is this that really determines what is left for the system of adult education. The provinces ought to be more active in the adult education field. Provinces have an obligation to train their citizens, because they assume the right to prescribe citizens' behaviour, and they constrain the actions of landlords, tenants, consumers and businessmen by means of increasingly complex legislation. In any case, adult education in Quebec does not suffer at all from federal influence, because such influence simply does not exist. But the provinces should do more than it does. The problem comes down finally to one of financial resources to do the job.

There are clearly other routes to the desired end than the orthodox school system model. One does not need to be inconoclastic about the orthodox system to be a little disturbed that the review of educational policies in Canada concentrates above all on the relative success of the regular academic systems. There are some valuable para- and extra-school systems that are just as productive as the conventional systems--for example, the voluntary popular education societies' programmes, employer-provided training (often costing more than provincial and federal programmes), and some public efforts to provide alternative educational opportunities. Continuing education is supported in Canada, but it does not have to be provided through conventional institutions alone. Nor is the success of the school system to be judged ultimately by the numbers of those retained in a system that is no longer adapted to present-day society.

Mr. G. Sette (Italy) addressed a question to the Examiners. He said he was really surprised at Question 33, because it seemed to be based on a philosophy which is to be rejected: that is, to enlarge university institutions just for the sake of mass production, to just distribute resources in equal amounts without making any effort to try to build excellence. That is very bad. Teaching can be of university standard only if there is a certain quality of research done, exemplifying an honest effort by the researchers to reach excellence in their field. Excellence in many disciplines can be achieved without substantial government investment. Each university must be given the possibility of building up excellence in each discipline by eliminating overlapping between universities. On the other hand, governments must ensure that there is a fair coverage of the different disciplines in each region in order to give the citizens a choice in university studies. Therefore, this kind of question should be phrased quite differently, and convey the opposite message. A sound policy should try explicitly to produce university excellence. A final question: In the running of universities, how is the participation of students in decision-making bodies effected?

Mr. Ozdil asked, in relation to Question 31: What are the relationships, academic or otherwise, between the community colleges and the universities?

Mr. Roeloffs (Germany) said that the members from Germany were particularly impressed with the closing remarks of the spokesman for the Province of Quebec. His remarks might be called a credo almost for the thesis that education is not just schooling, but that education goes on in shop training, and in many other places. He referred to the considerable outlays made by industry in that regard, and by considerable public outlay that was being made for adult education. If one looks at the background papers of the Report and at the Questions on the Agenda, non-adult initial vocational training is mentioned only with regard to its relation to general education. This raises the question: Is there a feeling in Canada that the educative aspect of training in industry implies some kind of public responsibilty (not necessarily involving public funds) for the kind of training that is taking place there? The second question is posed to the Examiners: Have they limited themselves, in consciously not looking at vocational training in industry, or at least not looking at its broad implications, as an aspect of education policy?

Mr. Hrabi said, with respect to the question of the role of students in university governance, that in virtually every university there are student representatives on the Boards of Governors, though there are different provisions in each university.

With respect to the question raised concerning the relation of community colleges to universities, that again is a very difficult question to answer in general, because the relationship varies from province to province. In the Province of Quebec, the CEGEPs provide two-year and three-year programmes following 11 years of study, leading to the university, or leading to a job, respectively. In the Province of Alberta, the relationship between community colleges and the university varies. In those communities where there is no university, the community college may in fact offer a programme similar to that offered at the first and second year university levels. One college, for example, offers first-and second-year programmes in the field of arts, and in education. A student having completed two years in that college may transfer directly into university with no loss of credit. At the same time and in that same college, there may be students who take a programme that has no relationship at all to a university programme.

Mr. Mercier said that students participate as members of the *Conseils d'administration* of universities and CEGEPs in Quebec. Whether their seats give students an effective voice in expressing their constituents' interests, that is another matter. Precisely because of this democratisation of the administrative structures, the *Conseils d'administration* often become arenas of conflict, making decisions more and more difficult.

He apologized if his remarks on out-of-school education had sounded to the member from Germany like a credo. They were certainly made out of conviction and long reflection on the problems of adult education. The main question that has to be answered is: Is there a public responsibility with respect to all the various educational enterprises, even for those outside the traditional academic structures? It seemed to him that, insofar as the common weal is at stake, the state has the right to intervene. Quebec already administers a network of private educational institutions. Moreover, as many private enterprises carry out training programmes, even if these enterprises are not educational institutions *per se*, the state can and should intervene in some manner to regulate the training programmes, as the participants will some day want certification for this training.

In any case, there is little choice, because all over Canada (which Mr. Mercier considered to be his country!) and all over Quebec (which he considered to be his motherland!), collective bargaining agreements stipulated specific competencies for positions. Thus, one might proceed informally at first in on-the-job training and so on in enterprises, but in the end, official recognition of competencies is needed. One must recognize the progressive disenchantment of adults with what one might call licensed and certified study-courses, sanctioned by some diploma or other. Among the 300,000 to 400,000 students in Mr. Mercier's area of educational work, probably only 20 percent are interested in getting a diploma, but they nevertheless all want their dossiers to contain pieces of paper attesting to their employment-related competencies and skills.

In Quebec it is not possible to proceed as did France in 1971, with a law requiring employers to provide training. Firms in Quebec are mostly small concerns, and they could not support the burden. But in some form or other this question must one day be tackled everywhere in Canada.

Mrs. P. Mela (Finland) asked whether difficulties are experienced because universities in different provinces have different examinations. Also, are graduates of different universities in unequal positions when seeking jobs?

Mr. Mitsuta (Japan) asked if integration in planning elementary, secondary and higher education had been achieved?

Mr. Hrabi said that it is of course true that there are no comparable examinations among provinces. Nor are there comparable examinations within provinces among universities. It is assumed that if the universities have competent staffs and these universities certify that a graduate holds a degree, then the business and educational communities of other provinces tend to accept that assurance at face value. The universities are accredited institutions and graduates of accredited institutions are accepted everywhere. That has not caused Canadians undue difficulty, whether in transferring between institutions within the province, in transferring from one province to another, or even in transferring from Canada to institutions in other countries. In the field of education, the different provincial authorities have established different programmes for the preparation of professionals, and as a consequence when professionals move from one province to another, they do experience some difficulty, though not undue difficulty.

The question of articulation of high schools and post-secondary institutions is a problem in Canada, though it is not an issue that is exclusive to Canada. In Manitoba where one ministry is in charge of both basic education and universities and colleges, the chances of there being articulation difficulties are less than in, say, Alberta, where there are two ministries. In Alberta, a formal committee set up by both Ministers of Education, called the Articulation Committee, is responsible for articulating the basic and post-secondary education programmes. When the problems become such that they cannot be settled bilaterally between institutions, they land on the administrators' desks and they get settled.

Mr. Papadopoulos (Secretariat) asked for a "yes or no" answer to the question: Is concern for educational standards at the various levels of education a major preoccupation in Canada at the present time?

Mr. Hrabi replied that the answer is "yes and no".

Mr. Eide recognized that the question of "centres of excellence" has stirred up some interest , but said it was a pity that reference was not made to the Examiners' Report. That would perhaps help in clarification. The questions posed by the member from Italy would, by and large, have been answered had he cared to read the Examiners' Report. Thus, a relevant passage reads: "The Examiners would favour a relatively egalitarian institutional structure requiring active measures to counteract the tendency towards increased quality differentiation. The price of so-called excellence in a few institutions at the expense of institutions catering for the great mass of students at the undergraduate level is far too high to pay for a very dubious gain. Acceptance of this viewpoint would imply doubts about the validity of prevailing notions that the emergence of a few prestige institutions is in the national interest". Probably most of the educational authorities in Canada would agree with this, but the contrary view is sometimes met, especially at the federal level, and in circles interested in research policy. That is the reason the Examiners stressed that issue. Of course, institutions may want to specialize, and ought to specialize, but that's not the issue the Examiners were raising.

The Examiners fully understand the historical reasons why there are students in the community colleges who, in formal terms at least, are far less qualified than those in universities, and teachers who are also far less qualified in formal terms, and being paid much less than they would be in the universities. What worried the Examiners most was the lack of a policy that might bring these institutions into a more genuinely competitive situation vis-à-vis the universities, where they could compete for the same kinds of students and on reasonably equal terms. It is fully understood that this cannot be the situation today, but the Examiners would have hoped that this would be a long-term perspective.

In adult education one must look at the actual situation, which is that it is much easier to get generous resources for programmes in work-related adult education than for general educational. Now, this may be alright. The Examiners' question was simply: Is this a true reflection of Canadian priorities in this field, or is it an accidental consequence of a combination of constitutional and bureaucratic circumstances? The question has not really been answered. The Examiners do not doubt for a moment that many Canadians want other kinds of courses than the work-related ones, but that is not the issue. The issue is: should they be supported equally?

VI. EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Questions

36. Are the educational authorities reasonably satisfied with the progress made in achieving equality of educational opportunity across income groups?

37, What do they see as the main successes in this area?
38, What are the major obstacles remaining? How is it proposed to
39. move towards their elimination?

40. The Examiners have indicated a number of failings in provision for the education of handicapped children. Are these criticisms justified?

41. Are the authorities now in a position to make definite proposals to provide handicapped children with more help and expert care?
42. If so, what are they?

43. How are the Provincial and Federal authorities planning to proceed in up-grading the quality of education provided for Native children and young people?

44. To what extent are Native authorities being involved in the planning and execution of new programmes?
45. The Examiners have suggested that the Federal authorities should aim at making the Indian schools exemplary institutions, demonstrating "best pedagogical practice" under difficult conditions.

Do the Federal authorities agree with this goal?

Professor Crozier introduced this cluster of questions by emphasizing that the Examiners considered that the progress made in Canada towards realising greater equality of educational opportunity amounted to a virtual educational revolution. But now that the major problems of quantitative provision had been met, problems of quality of provision appeared. It was much more difficult to make progress in the direction of equality of opportunity, once the question of free access to the system had been solved. That required changing the internal structure of the system of education.

Professor Noah referred to Question 36: Are the educational authorities reasonably satisfied with the progress made in achieving equality of educational opportunity across income groups? Some discussion of this had already taken place, particularly with regard to transfers of fiscal resources within provinces to the less advantaged areas, to raise their capacity to support education. He invited discussion of the data presented in the Examiners' Report, giving the average expenditures per pupil for elementary and secondary schools by province for a number of years. The data show that there remain very great disparities of dollar outlays across provinces and regions. Clearly this is connected with the first set of questions, the concept of a national approach to educational policy in Canada, although the Examiners by no means support the notion of central financing of education. Rather their concern is that there seem to be serious shortcomings still in modes of tackling the rather large between-region inequalities in capacity to finance basic and secondary education. This seems to the Examiners to raise serious problems, not least on the ground of the ease with which Canadians born and raised in one part of the country can take advantage of opportunities in other parts of the country.

Dr. Hamm-Brücher introduced Question 40. In general, the Examiners wish to ask the Canadian delegation whether criticisms expressed in the Report are justified and whether the authorities are now in a position to make definite proposals to provide handicapped children with more expert help? If so, what are they?

The Examiners found a widespread lack of provision for early diagnosis of handicaps, advice for the parents, early treatment, and so forth. Almost none of the teachers appeared to have had basic training for recognizing handicaps among their children. This is, presumably, a deficiency in teacher training that should be removed. Nevertheless, the need to keep children with handicaps in normal classrooms as much as possible was stressed. More advanced work in teacher training for dealing with handicapped children also needs development, perhaps along lines seen by the Examiners at Amherst, Nova Scotia. Parents said that there is too little information for parents who have children with handicaps, and that the private organizations working in this area could not do enough with their own limited finances. These organizations should be encouraged and supported in their important and very useful job.

Mr. Hanuschak agreed that there are disparities in expenditures on a per pupil basis from one region of Canada to another. However, the degree of disparity is decreasing and is decreasing very rapidly. Looking at the figures that appear in the Report, the Examiners will note that in 1969-70, the range of expenditures was from a high of $ 734 per pupil to a low of $ 387, a difference of well over 50 percent, whereas a similar comparison in 1972-73 shows a difference in the order of 25 percent. As similar statistics become available in the future, they will show a continuing trend towards the reduction of disparities in the expenditures for educational services.

Until a few years ago, education services for the handicapped were mostly provided within specialized institutions for the blind, the deaf, and so forth, and Departments of Health were much involved in the operation of such institutions. In some provinces the operation of such institutions fell completely within the jurisdiction of the Department of Health. Recent years have seen quite a significant change towards the provision of education services within the child's own community. One problem in many provinces is the sparsity of population. It is difficult to provide staff and facilities for the teaching of the deaf, the blind or the multiple-handicapped in a total school population of two or three thousand students ranging from Kindergarten to Grade XII spread over an area covering perhaps 25,000 square miles, in which there are only one or two children suffering from a particular handicap. Mr. Hanuschak said that he did not wish to leave the Examiners with the impression that there was any attempt to shy away from the problem, or to ignore it. That was not the intention at all, but what must be done is to arrange for some co-operative schemes within groupings of school divisions to provide an educational programme for handicapped children. Voluntary organisations have indeed done an admirable job, but there does come a point at which the question must be asked, whether such programmes should continue to be delivered by voluntary organisations, with some assistance by way of funding from the public purse, or should the services be provided directly by government?

Really meaningful steps have been taken to decrease the disparities which may have existed between the more affluent and the less affluent school divisions. With respect to post-secondary education, recent years have witnessed a tremendous increase in student aid programmes, both by way of bursaries and student loans, which have assisted children from the lower socio-economic groups to gain access to post-secondary institutions. These are programmes that are under continuous review, to take into account inflation of living costs.

Mr. Mercier referred to educational arrangements for Native people in Quebec. Recently, the Crees and the Inuits in Quebec concluded new agreements with the federal and provincial governments, as a result of plans for the immense provincial hydroelectric project that will displace the Native people, and which will cut across the old treaties guaranteeing hunting and fishing rights. The educational provisions of these new agreements are worth noting. The Crees living below the 55th parallel and Inuits living above the 55th parallel are awarded the same advantages, educational structures and services as are enjoyed by the other populations of Quebec. There will be school boards and trustees for Native school systems, composed of Native members, with rights to conclude agreements on educational matters with any group or person (for example, to second personnel from another school board to serve an Inuit or Cree board for a given period, or to conclude agreements with the federal government); to determine in agreement with the Minister of Education of Quebec the school calendar; to enter agreements concerning post-secondary education; to acquire property, to construct buildings, to house their students; to determine the proportions of Native to non-Native personnel hired; to arrange with the Ministry of Education of Quebec that Native teachers may be hired to teach, even though they may not yet have the normal teaching qualifications; to select materials for teaching that are adapted to Native needs, and to take steps to try them out, evaluate the results, and adopt or reject them; to devise curricula and materials designed to conserve and perpetuate the Native languages and cultures; to enter into contracts with universities and colleges, or with individuals, to undertake this work; to give instructions as to the use of such material; and to institute arrangements for the training of Native and non-Native teachers to serve in Native schools. Thus, there is an active policy to assist Native education being followed, and measures of positive discrimination being taken. Indeed, non-Native school boards have become a little jealous of the rights given to the Native boards.

Mr. R. Connelly (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Government of Canada) said that the Examiners should be commended for having caught the Indian-Eskimo reality as well as they did, despite the fact that their visit was very short. What is happening among the first Canadian citizens, the Indians and the Eskimos, today is probably one of the most exciting social change programmes in Canada. But, because there is so much lost ground to make up, there is much that remains to be done. It is to the credit of the Native people that they have become very well organised, and pack a great deal of political power. Having learned to deal directly with the provincial and federal governments, they soon developed the skill to articulate their problems.

In answer to Question 43, Mr. Connelly said that although under the Indian Act, the federal government has responsibility for providing education to Indians, there is very close federal-provincial co-operation. In five or six provinces there are joint agreements guaranteeing school accommodation for Indian pupils, or ensuring that an appropriate tuition fee is paid, either to the local school board or to the provincial government. In two cases, the Indian people of those provinces are also signatories to those agreements. In the

Province of British Columbia, for example, an Indian Provincial School Board has been formed among the Nishga Indians. The Department of Education has a full-time consultant on its staff to deal with matters of Indian education. In the Province of Saskatchewan, the use of Native languages has been officially approved at the primary level, as it has been in Manitoba, and possibly in other provinces as well. A Northern School Board was incorporated in Saskatchewan a number of years ago, the majority of the trustees of which are either Indian or Metis. In Alberta, the Alberta Teachers' Association created a specialist council on intercultural education in 1973. There is also a Northland School Division. As an indication of its interest in intercultural education, the Alberta Government has employed people to sensitize school boards and members of the provincial staff to the particular needs of Indian and Metis children. In Southern Alberta, a Native Counsellor Training programme has been established. In the Province of Manitoba, through the efforts of the Department of Education and the University of Brandon, a special teacher training programme has been established. This caters to Indian and/or Metis people who may not meet the entrance requirements to the university, but who can nevertheless enter the University of Brandon and after a period of on-campus instruction and practice teaching qualify and eventually be granted a teaching certificate. In the Province of New Brunswick, there has also been a general agreement worked out between the Indian people and the Province with very little intervention on the part of the federal government. The Province of Ontario also has been very active. Research assistance is available to Indian communities that might eventually establish school boards; Native curriculum guides have been developed by the Department of Education for use not only in Indian schools, but also in provincial schools where there is a significant number of Indian children attending; and a few fairly senior Ontario Department of Education officials are charged with maintaining liaison with the Indian community in education matters.

Professor Noah said he wished just to underline the Examiners' concern with Question 45 in which the suggestion is made to the federal authorities that, given they have the responsibility for financing and providing schools for Native people, that might be an excellent opportunity for the federal authorities to demonstrate what they believe to be best practice in the educational field. This might permit the federal authorities perhaps to meet with the provincial authorities and discuss pedagogical issues to the benefit of both parties. The Examiners would certainly like to hear a federal representative's comment on that suggestion.

Mr. Connelly said it is true that, because the Indian and the

Eskimo people are in a sort of unique situation (because of the heavy federal involvement), there are certainly many things that can be done, but he would hope that the Examiners are not suggesting that the federal government try to reinvent the wheel. Much of what is good, and much is good, in the provincial systems can be used in the federal schools. If Canadians tend to be provincial, the native people tend to be very, very parochial and there is little possibility of having large Indian schools of, say, 1,000 pupils. Even small communities will want to control their own schools and they will want to have a lot of input as parents and as elders, because among Indian people the elders are essentially those who transmit culture. In 1969, Indians made it very obvious that they did not subscribe to the melting pot theory; that they want the school to be much more a reflection of the home community than it is now. There is even research being done now by Indian associations to find ways and means by which the Indian schools can become what the Examiners termed "models of excellence". A number of Indian communities have hired architects, one of whom is an Indian architect in Alberta, to design a school which will have an Indian character. The school will be much more than classrooms, it will be much more than a 9-to-4 or a September-to-June building, it will be the kind of building where the community identity which in some cases has been lost over the years is rediscovered and refashioned, where the home and the school will reinforce each other, and where education in its broader sense can take place.

VII. EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, INFORMATION AND DISSEMINATION

Questions

The highly fractionated structure of education in Canada poses a particular problem for the systematic collection, organisation and presentation of comprehensive information (particularly of statistical information) about educational developments across the entire country.

46. What concrete steps are being taken to meet this set of problems?
The Examiners are of the opinion that it is necessary to improve funding for educational research, and to reorientate the organisation of research, to make it a less concentrated and more field-located phenomenon.

47. How do the authorities view the present state of educational

research?

48. What policies do they expect to follow in the future towards it?

Professor Crozier said that the Examiners were unable to give due attention to the question of education-related research, but they wanted to indicate the importance of the subject. There has already been some discussion of the extent to which the very successes of educational growth bring a secondary train of consequences and problems. It is just there that the Examiners wish to emphasize the importance of research. One must think not only of strictly pedagogical research, but also of research into the consequences of teaching, into the relationship between educational institutions, communities, and society at large, not only in its economic aspects, but also in its social aspects. There is also need for research on educational institutions as social systems. It is knowledge in these areas that constitutes an absolutely indispensable resource for proceeding further. What policies towards these ends are the Canadian authorities pursuing?

Mr. Hanuschak said that the statistical information which is utilized is largely produced by Statistics Canada, a federal agency. Some provinces have their own statistical units, but resource limitations imposed on education tend on occasion to restrict some statistical activities which are recognized as desirable by provincial statisticians. The Council of Ministers of Education in Canada has a committee which is in the process of resolving problems of incompatible procedures, definitions, and policies with Statistics Canada. This committee has proved to be a formal and an informal channel of communication for interprovincial sharing of data that may be required by the provinces for planning purposes. Indeed, there is evidence of much wider sharing of information among provincial agencies responsible for policy formulation and the delivery of services in the social field, generally. The problems related to the systematic collection, organisation, and presentation of comprehensive statistical information in education have thus been faced in a realistic fashion. This is not to suggest that all of the problems have been solved, but rather to indicate that they are under active consideration by the federal government in close consultation with the statistics committee of the Council of Ministers of Education. Just a word or two about the statistics committee of the Council of Ministers of Education. It has become a national forum in which information issues can be addressed and where priorities can be established. To this end the committee has proved to be an extremely valuable instrument. There is a general desire on the part of provincial departments of education to improve the policies, the comprehensiveness, the timeliness and comparability of the statistical data that are obtained. The extent of provincial efforts to achieve these goals is directly proportional to the importance that the departments of the various provinces attach to planning and analysis. As a general rule, this seems to be at an extremely high level.

Mr. Roberts said that federal activity in educational research is very limited. However, the Canada Council, one of the granting councils for research purposes in Canada, has two sections: one deals with the social sciences and the humanities, the other with the arts. The part of the Canada Council which deals with the social sciences and humanities funds research by individuals in education, as it does research by individuals in other areas of the social sciences. However, the basis of Canada Council funding is excellence. The choice of projects to fund is made by groups whose members are not necessarily devoted to immediate applications of knowledge, and the projects funded may or may not serve immediate needs of policy formation within government and immediate needs of programme direction. Therefore, various parts of the federal government do from time to time contract research in educational matters: the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development does so in education of Native peoples; the Department of the Secretary of State does so for its programmes, in particular for the language programmes. The Department funds on a continuing basis such major institutions as Laval University in Quebec which has a highly developed institute for the study of questions of bilingualism and receives part of its funding from the federal government. There are similar projects across the country for which there is some responsibility at the federal level.

Mr. H. Gillies (Director, Planning and Research Branch, Ministry of Education, Ontario), reviewing some problems associated with educational research, said that educational research is unevenly funded across the country, and probably it is underfunded in most provinces, as well. The entry of the provinces into the field of education research is a quite recent development, having a history of perhaps ten years at most. Educational research has been funded at various institutions, such as faculties of education in universities in an ad hoc fashion. Some of the very largest boards of education, notably those in large metropolitan areas have a history of research efforts going back about 15 years. For the very first time a national interprovincial conference on the whole matter of educational research took place in September 1976, providing for the first time a kind of interface between the provinces, and among provincial and board officials associated with educational research in Canada. The networks which have begun to be established in this area are most welcome.

A number of the provinces are paying attention to the dissemination of educational research results. In all areas of research, an information gap exists between what is done by the researchers and the practitioners in the field. Considerable thought has been given to a number of strategies to make sure that that information gap is closed. For example, there has recently been concluded a four-year longitudinal study with respect to early identification of learning difficulties in young children. The study was done in the area of Windsor, Ontario, and the model which was used experimentally in that area has now been adopted by over 11 boards in the Province of Ontario. In order to promote and disseminate that kind of information, the province is investing several tens of thousands of dollars in the development of television and video tape materials, to make certain that the necessary information is promoted in the widest possible manner. In addition, provincial authorities and several other groups have embarked on a major endeavour to promote and make available educational research data in both print and in non-print form. Series of articles and publications are directed specifically towards schools and school boards. In this regard, there has just been initiated a brand new set of individual one-page summaries of findings of educational studies. These will go to every school in the province. As a back-up, there is a new indexing system and these kinds of publications will be available in microfiche form. These are some of the new strategies which are being employed to attack the problem of disseminating educational research findings vigorously. Several of the provinces have informally committed themselves to interprovincial distribution of these materials, as well, so that each province is aware of what the others are doing in this regard.

Professor Noah said that the Examiners had sensed, as indeed any observer must, that Canadian institutions have been affected considerably by the enormous weight of the presence of the United States south of the border. So much of what goes on in Canada is linked to, reflects upon, reflects, is integrated with, or is deliberately separated from, the example of the United States. This is a fact of Canadian life. The Examiners got the impression that educational research was very heavily influenced by the United States' presence and example, in terms of problems tackled, ways of researching them, ways of dissemination, and staffing. Perhaps here too, it appeared to the Examiners, the Canadian authorities and the Canadian university and school communities need to take a national view of Canadian education research, information and dissemination problems, not just in order to separate Canada from the United States, but because there are Canadian issues and Canadian opportunities for research that may be being neglected under the present mode of organising these affairs.

Mr. Gillies said it was clear that United States influence on

Canadian education, both in the area of innovation and in the approach to educational research, is present. As time goes on, there is a tendency to be much more selective and discriminating. Nevertheless, the research and innovation going on south of the border, as well as many of the studies that are conducted in the United Kingdom and by the OECD are, indeed, very useful. Canadians try to utilize the experience of such studies. However, Canadian educational research is being utilized to a very large extent within Canada. A recent analysis done in Ontario indicated that of the educational research funded by the Minister of Education there was firm documentation showing that 98 percent of that research had made substantial impact in the area of policy formulation and decision-making.

Part Three

BACKGROUND REPORT

THE CONSTITUTIONAL, STATISTICAL, OPERATIONAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL BACKGROUND OF EDUCATION IN CANADA

The introductory volume of the six-volume
Report prepared by the Canadian Authorities
for the Coordinating Committee of the
Council of Ministers of Education in Canada

FOREWORD

At the request of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the Government of Canada, with the concurrence of the Council of Ministers of Education, agreed to undertake a review of educational practices and policies in Canada, as part of a regular activity offered by the OECD to its member countries.

The preparation of this review was coordinated by the Council of Ministers of Education in cooperation with the federal government. As with similar examinations already completed in several countries, the purposes of the review are twofold: to acquaint others with educational developments in Canada and to assist the Canadian education authorities in planning more effectively for the future.

From a geographical point of view, Canada is the largest country in the western hemisphere and the second largest in the world. It occupies the northern half of the North American continent with the exception of Alaska and Greenland. The lands within its 3,851,809 square miles have been politically divided into ten provinces: British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland; and, two territories - Yukon and the Northwest Territories (ref. map of Canada on p. iii). At the time of the 1971 census, Canada's population was 20,569,000.

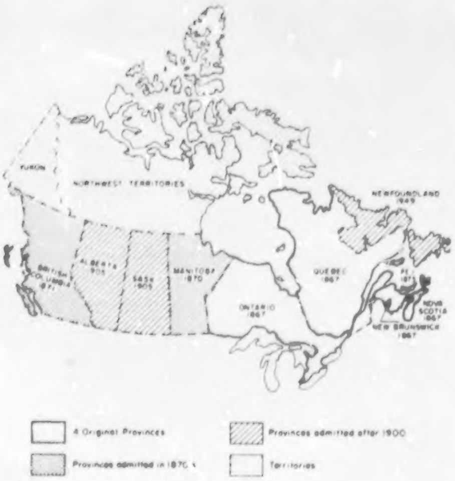
In the political context, Canada is a federal state and, according to the Constitution, education falls under provincial jurisdiction. Because of these factors, the internal review is presented in a form that differs from those dealing with centralized systems of education. For the purpose of this review, Canada has been divided into the following geographical regions: the Western Region brings together the provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba; the two central provinces, Ontario and Quebec, maintain separate regional status; and, the Atlantic Region groups the provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. Since the federal government has responsibility for education in the two territories, in addition to its other educational activities, it was considered as a region in the context of this review.

The foregoing should not lead the reader to believe, however, that the systems of education do not resemble one another or that they have evolved and operate in isolation. The colonies which have become Canada were settled at different periods, by people with different cultural backgrounds, whose attitudes and institutions reflected differences in language, religion and social traditions. Nevertheless, there are similarities in culture, history and geography that provide a natural framework for a study such as this.

Overall management of this project has been the responsibility of a coordinating committee of the Council, composed of one representative each from the Western Region, Ontario, Quebec and the Atlantic Region. Two representatives from the federal government also participated in the activities of the committee. In addition, each region appointed a director to be responsible for the production of that region's report.

The components of the internal review are as follows: an introduction, which provides a general overview of the constitutional, statistical, operational and organizational background; the four regional reports describing the educational policies and practices of the provinces; and, the section on the educational activities of the federal government. Together, the six reports offer an up-to-date survey of education in Canada.

The Provinces of Canada



CHAPTER 1

CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

1. The basis of Canada's written constitution is the British North America Act, which was passed by the British Parliament in 1867, following three years of discussion among colonial leaders from Upper and Lower Canada and the maritime region. It created a federation of four provinces - Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick - which has now been expanded to a total of ten together with two territories under federal jurisdiction. Section 93 of the original Act placed education under the control of each province, thereby confirming differences which had already begun to appear in the educational structure of the various regions. This section reads as follows:

> In and for each province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education subject to the following provisions:
> (1) Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the province at the Union;
> (2) All the powers, privileges, and duties at the Union by law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the separate schools and school trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the dissentient schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic subjects in Quebec;
> (3) Where in any province a system of separate or dissentient schools exists by law at the Union or is thereafter established by the legislature of the province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General-in-Council from any act or decision of any provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education;
> (4) In case any such provincial law as from time to time seems to the Governor-General-in-Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General-in-Council on any appeal under this Section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial Authority in that behalf, then and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this Section and of any decision of the Governor-General-in-Council under this Section.

A. The Origins of the Educational Systems

2. A generation earlier, in 1841, when the two colonies of Lower and Upper Canada were united under a single legislature, a common education act was adopted. It proved unworkable, however, due to cultural and religious differences. New legislation was substituted almost immediately, giving each province the power to create an educational system of its own, and these separate systems developed side by side during the twenty years before confederation.

3. In the Atlantic provinces, on the other hand, common characteristics were discernable very early, not only between the systems already established in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but also between those of Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, colonies which did not enter confederation until later.

4. In 1867, therefore, it could be said that there were three distinct regional systems of education. These had emerged in Quebec, Ontario and the two maritime provinces and each had certain distinguishing features.

5. The four western provinces were created from Rupert's Land, the vast territory purchased in 1870 by the Government of Canada from the Hudson's Bay Company. Manitoba and British Columbia became provinces in the 1870's but it was only in 1905 that Saskatchewan and Alberta achieved provincial status. In the intervening period, their educational services were organized under the federal Department of the Interior. Between these systems, therefore, there are regional similarities which may be attributed not only to geography, but to history and demography as well.

6. Two territories still remain outside these provincial structures - the Yukon and Northwest Territories. The population of these vast areas is sparse and heterogeneous, partly native, partly made up of other Canadians who have migrated from the south. The schools are operated by departments of education which are under the jurisdiction of the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

7. Each time a new province has been admitted to the Confederation, the provisions of Section 93 of the British North America Act have been reaffirmed, so that all provinces have the same degree of responsibility for the operation of their educational systems. For its part, the federal government is directly involved in the education of native people, both Indian and Inuit, the population of the territories, the personnel and families of the armed forces and persons confined to federal penal institutions.

8. In the course of a century, the scope, diversity and cost of educational services have all steadily increased and it has been said:

> In 1867 education was the cheapest and simplest of government services, easily administered and cheaply financed by local parents and ratepayers; today, in 1958, it has become the most expensive and complex of our social services.[1]

9 To keep pace with this evolution, some form of inter-governmental action has been necessary from time to time. At the turn of the century, for example, there was concern in some provinces about training in agriculture, while in others the pressure of industrial development led to the demand for industrial and vocational training. As a result, a federal Agricultural Training Program was initiated in 1913 in cooperation with several of the provinces. With the approval of the provincial premiers, the federal government also appointed a Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Vocational Education 1910) whose recommendations were partly implemented in the Technical Education Program of 1919. Through these and

other subsequent measures, federal support was provided to all provinces for the development of technical and vocational education.

10. More recently, after World War II, it became necessary to expand and diversify higher education. Constitutional and fiscal problems had been closely examined in the late 1930's by a Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations,[2] and new fiscal arrangements had been adopted during the war years that gave increased revenues to the central government. Acting in support of the universities, the Parliament of Canada in 1952 authorized the payment of annual grants, based on per capita of provincial population, to all approved institutions. The scale of these grants was increased several times before 1966 when, to meet the objections of several provinces and to assure the development of non-university post-secondary programs, the payments were made directly to the provincial authorities.

11. There are, of course, many private educational institutions, almost all of which are under provincial jurisdiction. Policies vary from one province to another. Some of the governments impose strict control, while others virtually ignore their existence. Generally speaking, most governments refuse to use public funds for private purposes, although three provinces - Quebec, Alberta and Saskatchewan - contribute some form of financial assistance. Since the public services for early childhood education are limited in most provinces, there are many private schools in this sector and the supervision is frequently minimal. On the other hand, in the post-secondary sector, almost all the institutions - colleges and universities - are now supported mainly from public funds and have been brought under a measure of government control.

B. The Evolution of Educational Services

12. In Canada, as elsewhere, public expectations of education have risen sharply since the end of World War II. Claims were advanced that education would curb the rivalries of war, that it could speed reconstruction, that it should promote universal harmony, that it would extend the boundaries of knowledge and help control the discoveries of technology and science. At the same time, the hopes of underprivileged people everywhere were stirred by the promise of equal educational opportunity for all.

13. After 1945, the birth-rate in Canada rose rapidly, creating an unprecedented demand for elementary, then for secondary and, finally, for university and other types of post-secondary education. In 1950, the school-age population (ages 5-19) was about 3.5 million. Within five years it increased to 4.2 million and by the end of the decade it had reached 5.2 million, a rise of about fifty percent. Immigration also brought two million new Canadians into the country between 1945 and 1960. As for the men and women in the armed services, whose education had been interrupted when they left civilian life, the federal government made it possible for 50,000 of them to attend university between 1945 and 1950, and another 80,000 to receive vocational and technical training. Obviously the sudden increase placed heavy strains on all levels of the educational systems. At first, accommodation was provided in temporary buildings, but the construction of new schools and colleges and the expansion of universities soon became necessary in every province.

14. The problem of providing teachers was even more serious. Teaching had always been a poorly paid occupation, moreover, the teaching profession had become badly depleted during the war. Many teachers volunteered for military or civilian service and their replacements were frequently unqualified. An analysis of salaries, conducted by the provincial ministries of education, showed that in 1943 nearly 75% of Canada's teachers received less than $1,200 annually. It was calculated that, to raise the median to $1,321, provincial governments would have to increase their yearly expenditures by $39,000,000.[3] A national survey on the status of the teaching profession, conducted in 1948, reported that "The present acute teacher shortage is largely the direct result of low standards in the profession, of inadequate remuneration and of unsatisfactory living and working conditions."[4] By 1950, the problem had reached crisis proportions and each province was forced to adopt whatever measures it could to keep its classrooms open. Some tried raising standards, in the hope of attracting better candidates who would remain permanently in the teaching force. Others lowered the qualifications in order to find temporary relief. Nearly all resorted to temporary permits and accelerated courses. The consequences were soon apparent. In 1955, when Statistics Canada made a study of the problem in depth, 15% of the elementary teachers in Canada had not met the minimum requirements of secondary school graduation and a year of professional training, 40% of the secondary school teachers did not have a university degree and professional training, and 15% of the university teachers had not advanced beyond a bachelor's degree.[5] Thus, while it was possible to build classrooms for the influx of students, it was not easy to find a sufficient number of qualified teachers to staff them properly.

15. A third problem was the necessity for a revision of school curriculum, in order to bring it into line with the social and economic realities of the time. In accepting the principle of universal education, society had substituted a heterogeneous school population for an elite, and Canadians, as their contemporaries in most other countries, found some difficulty in accepting the full implications of this change in concepts. As the economy became more highly industrialized and sophisticated, new skills and standards were imposed on the labour force. A national survey conducted in 1949 by the Canadian Research Committee on Practical Education, representing education, industry and labour associations, left no doubt that school curriculum must change by placing more emphasis on science, mathematics and practical subjects.[6] A new generation now occupied the classrooms, one which would use the transistor and television, jet aircraft and computers. The comprehensive secondary school was generally recognized as the answer because it could offer a wide range of options to students having a wide range of interests and abilities. This type of program was gradually introduced in all the provinces.

16. The traditional pattern of educational finance in Canada placed the major responsibility for maintaining elementary and secondary schools on municipal government authorities. Beyond that, universities were usually supported from private or non-governmental sources, including tuition fees. Provincial governments, which in 1947 contributed only about 19% of the net general expenditure on education, were suddenly forced to offer supplementary and capital grants to school boards, especially for secondary and technical education. After the turn of the decade, they became more firmly committed.

extensive research which produced valuable data. In most instances, the membership of the commissions saw representation from both sexes, included laypersons as well as educators, and was usually chosen from among the residents of the province concerned. In general, the mandate was restricted to a specific problem or sector of education, such as the elementary-secondary curriculum, technical education, finance, higher education or the coordination of municipal services for health, welfare and schools. However, in three provinces - Quebec, Newfoundland and Alberta - the mandates covered all levels, types and aspects of education, and the reforms recommended called for a complete reorganization of the whole system. Even where the studies were more restricted, supplementary research and public discussion led to a comprehensive reassessment of educational services and, by general agreement, the scope of education was extended considerably. Education became recognized as a universal right to which everyone should have access, and as a continuous process, not limited to school or college classrooms but continuing throughout life. In light of these new dimensions, the following section will examine the educational services provided in the areas of early childhood, elementary-secondary, post-secondary and continuing education.

TABLE 1

PROVINCIAL COMMISSIONS OF ENQUIRY IN EDUCATION

British Columbia	Cameron, Max	1945	School finance, administration
Ontario	Hope	1945-50	Elementary-secondary
Nova Scotia	Pottier	1953-54	School finance
Saskatchewan	Baker	1958	Agriculture and rural life
Manitoba	Macfarlane	1956-59	Elementary-secondary
Alberta	Cameron, Donald	1957-59	Elementary-secondary, finance
British Columbia	Chant	1958-60	Elementary-secondary
Prince Edward Island	LaZerte	1959-60	Finance, administration
Quebec	Parent	1961-65	All levels and aspects
New Brunswick	Byrne	1962-63	Municipal services, finance
New Brunswick	Deutsch	1963-65	Higher education
Newfoundland	Warren	1964-68	Education and youth
Prince Edward Island	Bonnell	1965	Higher education
Ontario	Hall, Dennis	1966-68	Elementary-secondary
Alberta	Stewart	1966	College
Ontario	Wright, Davis	1969-72	Post-secondary education
Prince Edward Island	Sheffield	1969	Post-secondary education
Alberta	Worth	1969-72	Planning for all levels and aspects
Nova Scotia	Graham	1972	Education, public services and provincial-municipal relations
Manitoba	Oliver	1973	Post-secondary education
Saskatchewan	Hall	1973	University governance

Expenditures tripled in the ten years following 1947, finally exceeding a billion dollars for the first time in history. This spectacular rise reflected not only the increase in enrolments, but also a considerable improvement in teachers' salaries, large-scale building programs and the expansion of special services, such as bus transport for pupils, an innovation which indirectly required large expenditures for roads, maintenance and equipment. Year by year, as the budgets increased, municipal authorities demanded more support from the provincial governments, some of which resorted to the imposition of sales taxes to be used for education. At the same time, the universities, having persuaded the federal government to come to their rescue in 1952, made repeated claims for further federal assistance. Thus, provincial governments as well as the federal government became deeply involved in financing education, and it became obvious to all involved that still greater demands lay ahead.

C. Redirection and Reform

17. During the last half of the 1950's, trends toward educational reform became sufficiently pronounced to produce basic changes in Canadian attitudes toward education. The census of 1951 confirmed the fact that enrolments would increase even more rapidly for a number of years; the shortage of teachers in school and university was bound to continue as long as other types of employment offered greater attractions and rewards; technological changes demanded new skills from the labour force which were being supplied, not through the schools, but by immigrants; and, it was estimated that costs would rise at the rate of not less than 10% a year. There were still a few educational leaders who believed that there was "nothing much wrong with Canadian education that a great deal of money, properly applied, would not set right,"[7] but many others, and a large section of the rank and file, were prepared to search for new directions and guidelines. Each of the Western provinces, for example, appointed a royal commission to examine its school system and recommend reforms. This procedure was followed by other provinces during the 1960's. The federal government named a commission to study Canada's economic prospects and forecast manpower needs.[8] Statistics Canada improved its coverage of education, and the Director of its Education Division, Dr E.F. Sheffield, predicted that university enrolments would double by 1964. University leaders were concerned by these forecasts and, as a result, the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada called a conference in 1956 on "Canada's Crisis in Higher Education". External pressures were brought to bear by the launching of the Russian Sputnik and the challenge of space science. As further evidence of widespread concern, a number of national educational bodies organized the first Canadian Conference on Education, held in Ottawa in 1958. The impetus built up during these years was sustained and there are links of cause and consequence as the 1950's merge with the new decade.

18. In the 1960's, as public interest in education increased and the problems of education became more complex, the systems and institutions were extensively examined by government commissions such as those established earlier in Ontario[9] and in the western provinces. (The list of these commissions appears in Table 1.) The composition, mandate and procedure of these bodies varied, but all aroused considerable public interest and debate as a result of their public hearings and recommendations. The majority conducted

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION IN CANADA

A. Early Childhood Education

19. The development of early childhood education in Canada has been uneven. Kindergartens were opened in urban centres such as Toronto and Montreal soon after 1900, when the pressures of industrialism and the example of Maria Montessori stimulated a public demand for pre-school classes. It was not until after World War II, however, that urbanization and other new factors, including the employment of large numbers of women in industry and commerce, increased the demand to a point where public authorities generally accepted early childhood education as part of their responsibility. This view has been recently reinforced by recommendations of two official bodies, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women and the Senate Committee on Poverty in Canada, both of which reported that the services for early childhood were completely inadequate and recommended action to correct the situation.

20. Part of the difficulty arises over the confusion of names and purposes. Kindergartens, when they were originally introduced, were usually restricted to five-year old children, although in many instances they now provide for four-year olds as well. Below that age, provision is now made in "nursery schools". The French term for kindergarten is generally "la maternelle", as the old term "jardin d'enfants" has almost dropped out of circulation. To add to the confusion, terms such as "pre-school" and "pré-scolaire" have been used to describe all informal or pre-elementary classes. With the introduction of "day-care centres" and "crèches", the nomenclature has become even more confused, because these are essentially custodial establishments outside the control of education ministries and usually operated by social welfare authorities.

21. Practices and policies vary a good deal from province to province but, generally speaking, the services are well below the demand and needs. Kindergarten classes are offered by many local school authorities, particularly in urban areas. Attendance is voluntary and tuition charges are often imposed. Provincial ministries are responsible for the training and certification of teachers. Over 1200 kindergartens and nursery schools are also operated through private initiative under some degree of provincial control, although the extent of this control varies considerably. Among the most successful are a number of parents' cooperatives which not only make provision for the development of the children, but also require cooperative effort and learning among the parents. In several centres these programs are well advanced. Progress has also been made in the use of television for home instruction. The American program, Sesame Street, has achieved remarkable success in Canada and experiments are now in progress to prepare programs more appropriate for Canadian audiences.

22. The growth of pre-school enrolment has been very impressive, especially since the beginning of the 1960's. It was estimated then that only 34% of the five-year old population attended pre-Grade I classes. That proportion has now risen to over 90% with the distribution about equal between boys and girls. Kindergarten enrolment for selected years is shown by regions in Table 2 and the full detail with provincial totals appears in Table 1 in the Statistical Annex.

TABLE 2

KINDERGARTEN ENROLMENTS, SELECTED YEARS

	1956-57	1966-67	1973-74	1974-75 e	1975-76 e
Atlantic	18,230	27,181	27,616	27,220	27,370
Quebec	10,024	61,621	94,815	93,800	90,000
Ontario	71,455	136,500	166,123	172,700	182,400
Western	12,056	28,372	57,551	60,790	63,630
Yukon	-	-	-	-	-
Northwest	112	686	1,280	1,210	1,330
DND Overseas*	-	1,034	465	470	470
Private	n.a.	39,911	38,570	39,640	n.a.
CANADA	111,877	255,395	347,850	356,190	365,200

e - estimate
* - Department of National Defense
n.a. - not available

See Table 1 in Annex

B. Elementary-Secondary Education

23. School attendance is compulsory in every province for a specified number of years and public elementary and secondary schools are operated by ministries of education to provide the necessary educational services. These institutions are the core of the educational system. Generally speaking, all have the same objectives: universal, continuing education. In the words of one of the commissions of enquiry held a decade ago:

> In modern societies the educational system has a threefold goal: to afford everyone the opportunity to learn; to make available to each the type of education best suited to his capacities and interests; to prepare the individual for life in society.[10]

However, this unanimity of purpose permits, at the same time, necessary differences in regulations and institutional structures. These will be fully described in the sections of this report devoted to the various regions.

24. The population of Canada has grown from 16 to 22 million during the past twenty years. This alone would have forced the educational systems to expand more rapidly than they had previously. However, to the pressure of increased numbers has been added the necessity of providing for students who wish to remain in school for an extended period of time. Thus, Canada's educational enrolment in the post-war period increased faster than that of any other industrialized country.[11] During the twenty years between 1951 and 1971, the combined elementary and secondary enrolment more than doubled, and in the 1960's alone it rose by 39% to a peak of nearly six million in 1970-71.[12] Since then, enrolments have been falling slowly because of lower birth rates and reduced immigration. These trends and the regional distribution are indicated in Table 3.

TABLE 3

ELEMENTARY-SECONDARY ENROLMENTS, SELECTED YEARS

	1956-57	1966-67	1970-71*	1975-76 e
Atlantic	431,571	553,154	588,000	552,440
Quebec	991,505	1,538,455	1,423,000	1,396,500
Ontario	1,126,592	1,853,464	2,090,000	2,034,700
Western	892,530	1,348,410	1,520,000	1,452,670
Yukon	307	3,444	4,634	5,400
Northwest	3,122	6,990	10,006	12,360
DND Overseas	-	8,439	5,867	4,620
CANADA	3,445,627	5,312,356	5,885,716	5,458,590

* Source: Statistics Canada, Education in Canada, 1973, p. 90.
e estimate

See Table 2 in Annex

25. Although each province has developed an individual approach in carrying out the objectives of universal and continuing education, there are many similarities in practice. All have extended the period of compulsory attendance and in most it is now a minimum of ten years. All have ceased to regard the elementary school as a terminal institution and pupils are now expected to continue through most, if not all, of the secondary program. Most provinces have now replaced the old one-year-one-grade pattern of promotion by accepting the principle of continuous progress and subject promotion. The comprehensive secondary school has been generally adopted in all the provinces, with its wide choice of options, guidance services and extra-curricular activities. These reforms have been largely, though not entirely, responsible for a noticeable improvement in retention. As is shown in Table 4, the proportion of pupils who remain in school from Grade [illegible] to Grade XII has been rising steadily.

TABLE 4

GRADE XII ENROLMENT RELATED TO GRADE II ENROLMENT TEN YEARS EARLIER, SELECTED YEARS

	1961-62	1966-67	1971-72	1972-73
	Percentages			
Atlantic *	29.6	42.4	56.4	57
Quebec	7.5 x	31.3	71.2	73.6
Ontario	51.4	62.5	70.4	68.9
Western	57.6	68.8	77.7	75.3
Yukon & Northwest	-	56.2	33.2	37.9
CANADA *	36.4	52	71.3	71

* Newfoundland not included

x The complete secondary program was not offered in public schools in the French Roman Catholic system until 1966.

See Table 3 in Annex

This trend is also reflected in the higher percentage of the fifteen to seventeen age group attending school. As Table 5 indicates, nearly all the fifteen-year old population is now enrolled and the proportion of sixteen- and seventeen-year olds is rising steadily.

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE OF 15 TO 17 AGE POPULATION ATTENDING SCHOOL, CANADA

Age	1961-62		1966-67		1971-72		1972-73	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
15	88.9	87.1	94.6	91.3	95.9	95.8	95.5	96
16	70	67.2	83.4	80.7	87.6	87.1	86.2	86.9
17	50.8	41.5	63.2	55.1	66.6	63.1	66.1	62.7

For breakdown by regions and provinces see Table 4 in Annex

26. In addition to the provincially-operated school systems, the federal government operates a number of schools, such as those for the native peoples, the population of the Yukon and Northwest Territories, the personnel of the armed forces and persons in federal penal institutions. While these services are on a smaller scale than those provided by most of the provinces, they have been expanded and improved in recent years so as to bring them to

a level comparable with those offered to other Canadians. Compulsory attendance is enforced as far as possible; departments of education have now been established in each of the two territories; native children in the provinces are encouraged to attend comprehensive schools under provincial jurisdictions whenever these are available; and, Indian parents and the leaders of native communities are being encouraged to share responsibility for the direction of the schools their children attend. As a consequence, during the 1960's there have been notable improvements. Instruction in the early grades may now be given in some native languages, provision is being made for training native teachers, comprehensive schools have been opened in several centres and scholarships are provided to encourage students to continue their studies in university. In the 1960's, the services for the population of the territories were also expanded and the budget for expenditures was raised from eight to over forty million dollars. Similar expansion occurred in the schools operated overseas by the Department of National Defence and, on a slightly more modest scale, in the programs under the jurisdiction of the Solicitor-General.

27. One of the most obvious differences among the provincial systems is in the provision made for separate schools. Five provinces - Quebec, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Newfoundland - make legal provision for separate schools for Protestant and Roman Catholic minorities.[13] Usually these are operated by separate school boards under the authority of the Ministry of Education, conforming to its regulations with respect to curriculum, textbooks and teacher certification. As legal corporations, they are empowered to levy taxes and are entitled to receive grants from the government, although not always at the same level as the public institutions. In Manitoba, a dual system was in operation for a number of years but now, along with British Columbia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, it has adopted a nonsectarian public system. Nova Scotia, while making no legal provision for separate schools, permits local arrangements whereby a school board may designate certain schools and teachers for the instruction of a minority religious or language group.

28. About 4% of the total elementary-secondary school population attend private schools. The enrolment has fluctuated in recent years, reflecting changes in the public sector and general economic conditions, as is apparent from Table 6.

TABLE 6

ENROLMENT IN PRIVATE ELEMENTARY-SECONDARY SCHOOLS

	1956-57	1961-62	1966-67	1971-72	1975-75 e
Atlantic	9,166	10,253	7,417	2,549	2,720
Quebec	88,742	96,478	92,951	64,766	75,890
Ontario	21,547	27,826	46,072	43,949	50,310
Western	30,305	45,078	42,557	36,364	35,160
CANADA	149,760	179,635	188,997	147,628	164,080

See Table 5 in Annex

Provincial policies vary widely with regard to private schools. One province does not recognize them while in others they may qualify for inspection and a form of certification by following certain regulations for curriculum and the qualification of teachers. Three provinces - Alberta, Saskatchewan and Quebec - even provide a measure of financial assistance to schools which operate "in the public interest". Many of the private schools are limited to the secondary level. Most accept only boys or girls.

29. Canadians in all provinces have shown increasing concern for the education of children with special handicaps. For example, schools for the blind and deaf are in some cases administered directly by the provinces, sometimes by interprovincial agreement. In addition to these provincial institutions, many local school systems maintain schools or classes for children with a variety of disabilities. There are also private schools of this type.

30. As already noted, technical and vocational education has been the subject of various agreements between the federal and provincial governments during the past fifty years. Under the Technical Education Act of 1919, the federal authorities offered to support provincial programs but only a few of the provinces were ready or able to participate immediately. During World War II, new programs were adopted and a national council, composed of federal, provincial and public representatives, was appointed to advise the Minister of Labour on all matters relating to vocational education. One of the provincial deputy ministers acted as chairman of the council; however, most of the institutions involved were outside the structures of the formal educational system and were administered by provincial Ministries of Labour, Agriculture, Commerce and Industry. In 1960, the Technical and Vocational Education Act offered encouragement to the provinces to extend and improve these facilities, which were thereafter frequently incorporated within the new comprehensive schools. Partly as a result of these measures, the level and competence of the Canadian labour force has been improved. In 1951, it was estimated that the average level of schooling in the labour force was 8.6 years; in 1961, it had risen to 9.1 years and by 1971 it reached 9.6 years. At the same time, the standards of technical training were greatly improved. This made Canada less dependent on immigrant technical manpower and it has been reported that "Despite one or two notable exceptions, Canada is now virtually self-sufficient with respect to its ability to educate and train the highly qualifed personnel required for the management and operation of its affairs."[14]

31. The preparation, certification and employment of teachers in the elementary and secondary schools are among the most important areas of provincial responsibility. However, in spite of efforts to cooperate, provincial differences remain. It is therefore difficult to generalize, and consequently, the regulations of each licensing authority must be individually examined. The rapid expansion of the school population during recent years had led to a sharp increase in the size of the teaching force until the early 1970's, as is shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7

TOTAL FULL-TIME TEACHERS, SELECTED YEARS

	1956-57	1961-62	1966-67	1971-72	1973-74
Atlantic	15,222	19,067	22,300	26,377	26,597
Quebec	41,427	54,710	67,220	81,705	79,270
Ontario	39,622	54,444	76,336	95,320	92,960
Western	34,355	44,916	56,381	67,624	68,434
Yukon - NWT	263	362	550	834	920
DND Overseas	-	378	477	302	311
CANADA	130,889	173,877	223,264	272,162	268,492

See Table 7 in Annex

As may be noted, there has been a gradual decline since 1971-72 and a further drop to about 260,000 is forecast for 1975-76. Actually, in the 1960's the increase in the number of teachers was considerably larger than the growth rate of school population. During that period, the teaching force increased by about 70%, while the enrolment rose by only 42% and the ratio of teachers to pupils dropped from 26 to 22. This trend is indicated in Table 8.

TABLE 8

SCHOOL ENROLMENT, NUMBER OF TEACHERS, PUPIL-TEACHER RATIO

1960 - 1970

	Enrolment		Teachers		Ratio	
	1960-61	1970-71	1960-61	1970-71	1960-61	1970-71
Atlantic Provinces	496,269	588,388	18,389	26,415	27	22.3
Quebec	1,193,137	1,652,714	51,114	82,012	23.3	20.2
Ontario	1,423,560	2,090,495	51,254	97,287	27.8	21.5
Western Provinces	1,[illegible]76,786	1,520,344	42,491	68,172	25.3	22.3
Yukon	2,809	4,634	116	223	24.2	20.8
Northwest Territories	4,467	10,006	223	518	20	19.3
Overseas	7,274	5,867	379	355	19.2	16.5
CANADA	4,204,302	5,885,798	163,966	275,882	25.6	21.3

Source: Statistics Canada, Education in Canada, 1973, pp. 252-255, 257-259, 299-300.

Standards for certification have been raised in most provinces to the extent that elementary and secondary teachers are now required to complete a comparable period of training and practice, although the programs of study vary. In all but one of the provinces, the responsibility for teacher training has been transferred from normal schools operated by the ministries of education to faculties or colleges of education in the universities, in anticipation of the time when new candidates for the profession will be required to hold a university degree. The number of elementary teachers with degrees has been increasing steadily; for example, in one region the increase has been over 50% since 1960. The median years of teaching experience have remained stable during the course of these changes, although lately there has been a slight decline among high school teachers. About 60% of the teaching force in Canada is female and, of this number, three of every five are married. Salaries have improved such that expenditures of school boards for this item quadrupled during the 1960's to a total of $2,430,000,000.[15] Teachers' organizations have become more militant, demanding a voice in discussions on all aspects of educational policy. In most provinces, salary and working conditions are negotiated with local or regional school boards, but in five provinces - Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Quebec, Newfoundland and Saskatchewan - a standard contract is negotiated with the government for all teachers in the public schools.

32. Another area in which there is marked divergence among the provinces is the standard of graduation from secondary school. Having no central authority in education, Canada has no common diploma recognized in all provinces and by all universities, such as the "bachot" or "abitur". Each ministry of education has the power to grant school leaving certificates which, until recently, were usually awarded to successful candidates in a compulsory departmental examination. Under certain conditions these certificates were also recognized by some universities. However, departmental examinations have now been discontinued in most provinces and certificates are based on the school record and issued by the school. Further difficulty results from the variations in the length of the elementary-secondary course. Quebec and Newfoundland maintain an eleven-year pattern, Ontario requires Grade XIII for the Secondary School Honour Graduation Diploma and the other provinces all have a twelve-year program. Some provincial authorities now grant accreditation to certain schools, giving them the right to issue certificates. Most provinces are also moving toward the adoption of subject promotion as opposed to grade promotion in the secondary school system. Lack of uniformity or of comparability remains a problem and it is difficult to establish equivalence from one province to another. After a few years' experimentation in the early 1960's with the college entrance tests from the College Entrance Examination Board in the United States, the Service for Admission to College and University was established with support from the provincial ministries of education, the Council of Ministers of Education and the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada. This body, it was hoped, would supervise the preparation of tests, both English and French, that could be used in all provinces, particularly at the completion of secondary school. However, the experiment has not been successful and the Service has now been disbanded.

C. Post-Secondary Education

33. The demand for universal and continuing education posed special problems in the post-secondary sector, where the influence of the universities

had long been dominant. Larger numbers of high school graduates, greater demand for professional and highly qualified manpower, together with the growing public expectations of education, produced waves of new candidates in the 1960's which the existing institutions could not possibly accommodate. From an enrolment of 78,000 in 1956-57, the university population grew to over 128,000 in 1961-62, and it doubled in eight instead of ten years as Statistics Canada had predicted. Table 9 provides details of this growth.

TABLE 9

FULL-TIME UNIVERSITY ENROLMENTS

SELECTED YEARS

	1956-57	1961-62	1966-67	1971-72	1975-76 e
Atlantic	8,350	13,270	21,605	36,091	35,550
Quebec	25,902	43,156	75,070	62,819	74,000
Ontario	23,871	35,976	68,930	134,419	149,770
Western	20,381	36,228	64,732	89,697	93,500
CANADA	78,504	128,630	230,337	323,026	352,820

See Table 8 in Annex

Cooperative action was necessary. The existing universities pushed their accommodation to the limit and several extended their enrolment to over 10,000 full-time students. The federal government increased its annual grants and gave special assistance toward the establishment of four new faculties of medicine, as well as schools of social work and engineering. Provincial authorities became more deeply involved than ever before in planning and financing post-secondary services. A climax came at the Dominion-Provincial Conference on Higher Education in 1966, when all the governments agreed that post-secondary education must be considered a high priority for the immediate future.

34. As of 1974, there were 66 universities in Canada, of which a number held their degree-granting power in abeyance while in federation or affiliation with other institutions. Sixteen of these have been founded since 1960 and approximately 25 are multi-faculty universities with a full range of professional and graduate programs. With few exceptions, they operate under charters from the governments of the province in which they are situated and there is now at least one in every province. Until 1960, however, most were considered private institutions and were not fully integrated with the provincial systems of education. Now this relationship has changed. Since 1967, most of the federal government support has been directed through the provincial governments

and the universities have been brought into closer contact with the provincial authorities, particularly in planning, expansion and development. As in other sectors, there are differences in provincial and regional policies which will be described in detail in other sections of this study.

35. In most provinces during the past decade, equal emphasis has been placed on the development of non-university institutions. Teachers' colleges have been transferred to the universities, while other types of post-secondary institutions have been regrouped under the general classification of community colleges, of which there are several forms. In 1960, it was estimated there were about 60,000 students in non-university institutions. Ten years later, with the opening of new colleges, the enrolment rose to 80,000. This was only a prelude to the sudden expansion of succeeding years, as Table 10 indicates.

TABLE 10

FULL-TIME NON-UNIVERSITY POST-SECONDARY ENROLMENT

SELECTED YEARS

	1956-57	1961-62	1966-67	1971-72	1975-76 e
Atlantic	2,726	3,938	6,164	7,531	6,430
Quebec	13,551	22,987	33,755	84,209	134,060
Ontario	11,571	16,974	24,957	50,345	61,500
Western	6,197	9,476	15,327	31,694	36,570
CANADA	34,045	53,375	80,203	173,779	238,560

See Table 8 in Annex

The development of college systems by Ontario and Quebec in the mid-sixties is an example of this growth. The first Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (CAATs) were opened in Ontario in 1965 and 22 are now operating in various parts of the province, some of them on several campuses. They offer two- and three-year technical and vocational courses to graduates from Grade XII who do not intend to enter university. In Quebec, the first collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel (CEGEPs) were opened in 1967 and there are now 37 in operation, of which four are english-language institutions. The Quebec colleges are designed to offer both a two-year university preparatory program and a three-year vocational program for graduates from the eleven-year high schools. The response to these experiments has been encouraging and college systems are now being established in other provinces.

36. The number of women students attending post-secondary institutions has been slowly rising over the past fifty years. In the universities, several of which began to admit women before the end of the 19th century, the number increased from 16.[illegible]% of the enrolment in 1921, to 34.2% in 1967-68 and, with the encouragement of part-time study, this expansion m[illegible] be expected to continue even more rapidly. However, in certain types of post-secondary institutions, such as training colleges for elementary teachers, the proportion of women has been abnormally high. In this regard, it is important to note the results of recent shifts in government policies. By the mid-1960's, a more even balance was established in most provinces through the transfer of the responsibility for normal schools to the universities, and through the establishment in the central provinces of new types of colleges offering a wider selection of vocational and technical programs. This explains in large measure the trends shown in Table 11, which indicate a more balanced distribution.

TABLE 11

PROPORTION OF WOMEN STUDENTS

IN POST-SECONDARY INSTITUTIONS

	1961-62	1966-67	1971-72	1972-73 e
Non-University	Percentages			
Atlantic	87.6	71.9	65.1	63.8
Quebec	62.5	49.3	47.1	45.8
Ontario	69.4	60.5	46.8	45.5
Western	77.0	53.4	42.9	42.8
CANADA	69.1	55.3	47.0	45.8
University				
CANADA	25.7	32.4	35.4	36.9

See Table 9 in Annex

37. In the 1950's, faced with the critical shortage of technical manpower, the federal government gave increasing support to the provinces for technical education. The Ryerson Polytechnical Institute in Ontario (which has now been granted university status) provided a model which other provinces were anxious to adopt, and by 1960 there were about thirty of these institutions with an enrolment of 9,000 students. Federal policy was altered after 1966,

with the adoption of the Adult Occupational Training Act, and assistance is now offered through the purchase of courses given in various types of provincial institutions, including the community colleges.

38. The massive increase in post-secondary enrolment, from 90,000 in 1950-51 to over half a million in 1971-72, placed an impossible strain on the teaching force. The rising demand is shown in Table 12.

TABLE 12

TOTAL FULL-TIME POST-SECONDARY TEACHERS

SELECTED YEARS

	1961-62	1966-67	1971-72	1975-76 e
Non-University				
CANADA	4,376	6,266	14,133	18,270
University				
Atlantic	865	1,495	2,781	3,200
Quebec	2,730	5,250	5,544	6,660
Ontario	2,860	5,580	10,666	12,480
Western	2,300	4,350	7,327	8.270
CANADA	8,755	16,675	26,318	30,610

See Table 10 in Annex

Unfortunately, Canada has never been self-sufficient in providing staff for her universities; therefore, it was impossible to meet this sudden demand for staff without recruiting outside the country. As a consequence, during the 1960's, the number of non-Canadian university staff increased to a point at which there were protests from both the public and the institutions themselves. It was estimated that in 1971-72 approximately 60% of the university teachers were Canadian citizens, while 15% were citizens of the United States and nearly 10% were from the United Kingdom. Increasing numbers have also come from other countries. Of the new appointments made in 1971-72, only 56% were Canadians. This problem is now under study in several of the provinces and is also receiving attention from a special committee of the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada. One means of changing the trend is to increase the enrolment in graduate programs and some of the provinces have offered special incentives for this purpose.

As a result, the number of graduate students rose from 6,500 to over 33,000 during the 1960's, which is an increase of 409%, and the graduate enrolment now is estimated to be about 5% of the 22 to 24 age group.

39. Another area of extraordinary growth is part-time studies. Unfortunately, the available statistics show only academic subjects offered in the universities, without covering technical and vocational subjects offered in the colleges. However, even in the academic sector, the number of part-time students has increased sharply, as shown in Table 13.

TABLE 13

PART-TIME UNIVERSITY ENROLMENT

SELECTED YEARS

	1966-67	1971-72	1972-73	1975-76 e
Atlantic	6,449	12,915	12,792	15,560
Quebec	38,267	61,317	53,212	58,400
Ontario	27,860	57,452	61,835	71,900
Western	13,238	23,703	25,933	31,900
CANADA	85,814	155,387	153,772	177,850

See Table 11 in Annex

The proportion of women students in these totals is significant, as their numbers rose from 16,000 at the beginning of the period to 71,000. There is every indication that this trend will continue, especially as part-time students become fully integrated into the colleges and universities and as consideration is given to eligibility for financial aid.

D. Continuing Education

40. There are no boundaries in continuing education and, unlike education at the other levels, it is not exclusively centred around institutions. Moreover, it follows a wide variety of patterns according to the needs of the individual. One obvious and essential service is language instruction for new Canadians, which has been offered for many years in most large cities either by school boards, with help from provincial authorities, or by social agencies such as the Young Men's Christian Association. In recent years, the federal government has given substantial assistance. A further service is the extramural courses offered by some universities, by which candidates may qualify for degrees; yet another is the wide range of activities which may be

followed simply to enrich leisure. Correspondence courses and travelling libraries have provided continuing education for many people, and radio and television have been used extensively. During World War II, for instance, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation organized the Farm Radio Forum through which hundreds of small rural groups across the country met weekly for discussions on current topics, and a Citizens' Forum was developed as a counterpart for a more general public. Many experiments have since been conducted and others are now in progress. Public participation is encouraging. It was estimated that approximately one million persons were involved during 1971-72 in courses offered by school boards, education ministries, provincial correspondence and vocational schools, colleges and universities. The distribution is shown in Table 14.

TABLE 14

REGISTRATION IN CONTINUING EDUCATION PROGRAMS, 1971-72

	Total	Percentage Male
School Boards/Ministries of Education		
Academic	222,615	50.1%
Vocational	141,480	55.1
Hobby skills	243,481	85.7
Liberal arts	38,487	62.1
Social education	77,826	58.5
Recreational	43,038	66.9
Driver education and related	21,533	54.5
Provincial Correspondence Schools		
Academic	93,106	44.5
Vocational and other	31,012	87.2
Provincial Vocational Schools		
Academic upgrading	71,247	37.6
Occupational training	25,764	72.7
TOTAL	1,009,589	61.6

Source: Statistics Canada, Perspective Canada, 1974, p. 72

See Table 20 in Annex

41. The Canadian Association for Adult Education was organized in 1935 to help stimulate and coordinate these efforts. The early leadership came from a group of men and women in universities and schools, labour and agricultural organizations, women's institutes, cultural and religious associations, who were anxious to provide a channel through which citizens could demonstrate their interest and concern on social, economic and political issues. The membership, though never large, was recruited from among individuals and institutions, and a small secretariat gave a certain permanence to its existence. In the 1940's it acted as co-sponsor of the Farm and Citizens' Forums. It published a monthly journal, *Food for Thought*, the title of which later became *Continuing Education*. In more recent years, it has helped to sponsor a number of national conferences on education, health, poverty, children and youth, aging and the environment, but it has never offered courses directly. Since the early 1950's, it has continued an effective partnership with a similar body in Quebec - l'Institut canadien d'éducation des adultes - and the two organizations carry on vital programs with only a small measure of federal and provincial support.

42. The widespread use of television for educational purposes had led to experimentation with credit courses leading to university degrees. For a number of years, the University of the Air has offered regular instruction beginning at 6 a.m. and Quebec has now launched a full-scale program called Téléuniversité, under the administation of l'Université du Québec. Other provinces have adopted programs which are somewhat similar. Alberta has granted a charter to Athabasca University to operate a program using television and other media. Two other proposals, the Alberta Academy and the Open Academy of Ontario, remain at the discussion stage. Unquestionably, in all provinces there is widespread concern about the development of continuing education.

E. Financing Education

43. The economic structure of Canadian education has, of course, been deeply affected by changes in public and institutional policiés. Local taxes on real estate, which for many years subsidized basic education, now yield only a fraction of the expenditures necessary for the operation of elementary and secondary schools. Provincial and federal governments, which formerly stood aloof from the problems of higher education, have now become almost entirely responsible for its support. Private benefactors have ceased to provide substantial sums towards endowments or operating expenses and students' fees provide only a token portion of tuition costs. Indeed, government support has now become a factor of paramount importance and, whereas seventy years ago, most governments considered that they could afford to educate only a small minority of their citizens, now they are convinced that they cannot afford *not* to educate everyone. Governments in Canada are no exception.

44. Enrolment in all types of educational institutions in Canada at the end of World War II has been estimated at slightly over 2,000,000.[16] In the next fifteen years this population more than doubled, reaching a total in 1960-61 of 4,367,445. Then followed a decade of even faster growth, during which elementary-secondary enrolment increased by 40%, while the post-secondary population rose by 192%. A peak was finally reached in 1970-71 and, since then, the numbers have been declining slowly, although an increase is forecast for 1975-76. These trends are shown in Table 15.

TABLE 15

TOTAL FULL-TIME ENROLMENT, ALL TYPES, 1960-1975

1960-61	4,367,445
1961-62	4,594,833
1962-63	4,809,300
1963-64	5,025,460
1964-65	5,240,716
1965-66	5,474,853
1966-67	5,666,486
1967-68	5,869,988
1968-69	6,092,778
1969-70	6,245,604
1970-71	6,361,346
1971-72	6,318,759
1972-73	6,280,681
1973-74	6,210,582 e
1974-75	6,126,560 e
1975-76	6,050,070 e

Source: Statistics Canada, Education in Canada, 1973, p. 90, and Tables 2 and 8 in Annex

45. This expansion was undoubtedly a great achievement but it would not have been possible without radical changes in the pattern of financing education. In 1954, the Canadian Teachers' Federation published an information bulletin entitled Educational Finance in Canada,[17] which for the first time collected in one document the statistics on educational expenditures made by the three levels of government. This study began with the fiscal year 1947, when expenditures were estimated at about 350 million dollars, and it served as a basis for decennial revisions in the period 1947-57 and 1957-67. Other studies have since expanded this summary, especially those of the Education Division of Statistics Canada whose recent bulletin, Education in Canada,[18] focusses attention on the 1960's. During this critical period, expenditures grew at an average rate of more than 10% over the previous year, in some years by twice that amount, and Table 16 shows the comparison between expenditures in the 1960's and those in earlier and later decades.

TABLE 16

TOTAL EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION

SELECTED YEARS

	1956 $	1961 $	1971 $	1973 $
Atlantic	76,277,000	142,709,000	692,707,000	783,183,000
Quebec	236,164,000	540,407,000	2,260,532,000	2,720,718,000
Ontario	329,865,000	677,934,000	3,263,627,000	3,676,588,000
Western	282,510,000	546,839,000	1,112,869,000	2,338,171,000
Yukon	581,000	2,409,000	8,614,000	10,248,000
Northwest	2,943,000	8,186,000	31,304,000	39,257,000
CANADA	935,148,000	1,930,671,000	8,734,691,000	9,619,806,000

See Table 15 in Annex

According to these calculations, the growth rate of expenditures in the 1960's was considerably higher than the growth rate in numbers. While costs increased from nearly 2 to 7.5 billion dollars within the decade, enrolments rose from 4.3 to 6.3 million students. In other words, while costs tripled, enrolment increased by only 45.7%. Moreover, costs have continued to rise since 1970-71 during a period of declining numbers and, if the present trend continues, it has been forecast that expenditures in 1975-76 will exceed $11,000,000,000.

46. Some of the reasons for this extraordinary increase are obvious: inflation, expansion, extension and diversification. However, other factors must not be overlooked. The up-grading of teachers' qualifications resulted in higher salary levels and increased instructional costs. Attempts to improve teachers' working conditions through a reduction of teaching load and the adoption of benefits, such as sick and sabbatical leave, have also had financial ramifications. Other factors which have contributed to this increase include the purchase of new instructional aids and the installation of language laboratories, media centres and computers. All these innovations have contributed to the progress of education, but they have done so at considerable cost.

47. Although no satisfactory method has been devised for measuring the efficiency or productivity of educational systems, the relationship between expenditures and certain socio-economic indicators should be examined. It is helpful, for example, to determine the proportion of goods and services devoted to education which are included in the Gross National Product. By relating total expenditures to personal income, it is possible to make some assessment of the proportion which educational expenditures represent in the provincial economies. Relating expenditures to total population offers a crude measurement of the tax burden, because provincial sales taxes are

levied on consumption rather than on earnings. The financial "burden" of education may be shown by relating expenditures to the labour force actively engaged in producing goods and services. Finally, by indicating the relationship between total expenditures and enrolment, it is possible to estimate the cost to the economy of each person engaged in full-time study. The changing pattenr of these relationships during the 1960's is shown in Table 7.

TABLE 17

MEASUREMENTS - EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION IN RELATION TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS, CANADA

Year	Expenditures on education	Selected Socio-Economic Indicators				
		GNP	Personal income	Population	Labour force	Total full-time Enrolment
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	$'000,000			'000		
1956	935.1	32,058	23,531	16,081	-	3,558.0
1960	1,706.0	38,359	29,595	17,870	6,411	4,367.0
1965	3,399.5	54,364	41,071	19,644	7,141	5,474.9
1970	9,565.4	84,468	66,633	21,297	8,374	6,361.4
1973	9,619,8	118,678	93,992	22,065	9,279	6,226.8

Year	Expenditures Related to Indicators				
	GNP	Personal income	Population	Labour force	Total full-time Enrolment
	7 (1 ÷ 2)	8 (1 ÷ 3)	9 (1 ÷ 4)	10 (1 ÷ 5)	11 (1 ÷ 6)
	%		$ per capita		
1956	2.9	4.0	58	-	263
1960	4.4	5.8	95	266	391
1965	6.1	8.3	173	476	621
1970	8.8	11.4	335	903	1,189
1973	8.1	10.2	436	1,037	1,545

See Table 13 in Annex

48. The sources of revenue may be grouped under four headings: private, municipal, provincial and federal. Private sources include donations, revenue from endowments, support from religious bodies or other organized groups and tuition fees. All of these have shown a steady decline in relative value since the early 1960's, and they are now important only in the post-secondary sector where tuition fees are still imposed. Municipal taxes on real estate remain a vital element in financing elementary-secondary schools. Practice differs, however, among the provinces. In several systems the municipal authorities are required to collect the school taxes and transfer them to the school board, while in others, the school authority is itself authorized to determine and collect its taxes. Opposition to taxation of real estate for educational purposes has been mounting steadily in recent years, and some provinces have introduced ceilings beyond which the level of taxation may not be raised. There have even been proposals that real estate taxes for education should be abolished. Provincial governments are naturally reluctant to support such a plan because their sources of revenue are also very limited. An examination of the sources of net general revenue of the provinces in 1965 showed that about three-quarters was obtained through taxation and, of this, 34.8% came from sales taxes and 29.3% from income taxes on corporations and individuals. The same survey showed that the sources of federal government revenue are more flexible, with over nine-tenths being obtained through taxation and over 50% of this from income taxes.[19] Since the mid-sixties, the rising costs of education have been borne by the federal and provincial governments. However, as a large proportion of the federal contribution is now paid through the provincial governments, it is now difficult to distinguish the amounts derived from these two sources. As an illustration, it may be noted that the federal payments under the Post-Secondary Support Program, initiated in 1967, have risen from about $400,000,000 in the first year to $1,250,000,000 in 1973-74, but there is no reference in Table 18 to their federal origin.

TABLE 18

EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

BY SOURCE OF FUNDS, 1966-1970

	Total $ million	Government Federal%*	Provincial%	Municipal%	Fees	Other Sources
1966	4,155.2	13.0	47.8	27.8	5.3	6.1
1967	5,025.5	12.5	51.6	26.1	4.5	5.3
1968	5,777.1	11.3	54.4	25.6	4.4	4.3
1969	6,554.8	11.2	54.5	25.6	4.1	4.6
1970	7,408.9	10.8	57.0	23.8	4.1	4.3

* excludes fiscal transfers

Source: Statistics Canada, Canada Yearbook, 1973, p. 333.

49. Such a large-scale investment in education forced the governments to make a radical shift in their priorities. During the 1960's, expenditures on education climbed from 14% to 21.8% of the total, while those for defence dropped from 17% to 8% and those for transportation from 13.5% to 8.8%.[20] Meanwhile, the expenditures of provincial and municipal governments only, as shown in Table 19, indicate regional rather than global differences. It appears that, in the same decade, expenditures on education in three of the regions actually declined slightly as a proportion of the total, while they increased appreciably in the fourth.

TABLE 19

PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURES BY FUNCTIONS (PERCENTAGES)

1960 and 1970

	1960					1970				
	Education	Hospitals	Social Welfare	Transport	Other	Education	Hospitals	Social Welfare	Transport	Other
Atlantic	29.0	14.9	6.8	21.6	27.7	28.6	19.4	8.0	13.0	31.0
Quebec	32.3	10.8	8.5	13.4	5.0	30.5	18.4	10.7	10.6	29.8
Ontario	31.5	13.1	3.7	21.0	30.7	35.7	19.5	4.7	11.3	28.8
Western	33.0	12.5	5.7	19.7	29.1	30.4	21.4	5.8	12.6	29.8
CANADA	31.9	12.5	5.8	15.7	31.1	32.2	19.6	6.9	11.7	29.6

Source: Statistics Canada, Education in Canada, 1973, p. 224.

50. Some indication of the magnitude of the regional disparities is found in Table 20, which shows per pupil and per student costs.

TABLE 20

ESTIMATES OF PER STUDENT COST, BY REGIONS

Per Pupil Cost in Dollars by Regions (Elementary-Secondary)

	Atlantic Provinces	Quebec	Ontario	Western Provinces	Canada
1960-61	$ 174	235	313	350	284
1965-66	238	428	435	427	410
1969-70	387	655	734	647	653
1970-71	440	746	825	704	731

Per Student Cost in Dollars by Regions (Post-Secondary)

1960-61	$1,060	1,270	1,616	1,418	1,389
1965-66	1,532	1,575	2,238	1,939	1,860
1969-70	2,747	2,518	3,443	3,076	3,022
1970-71	2,867	2,671	3,728	3,335	3,246

Source: Statistics Canada, Education in Canada, 1973, pp. 375, 468

As Statistics Canada warns its public, these figures probably overstate the cost per pupil to some extent because they include expenditures for evening and part-time programs. Nevertheless, they do show considerable variation from one province and region to another.

CHAPTER III

THE STRUCTURE FOR ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

51. Each of the provincial systems is under the direction of a Minister of Education, who is an elected member of the Legislature and a member of the provincial Cabinet. Practice has varied since confederation, at which time Quebec was the only province with a Minister of Education, while the others placed the direction of their systems in the hands of a civil servant called a superintendent. Within a decade after confederation, however, Quebec abolished its ministry and it was not until 1964 that the position of minister was revived in that province. The reason usually given, in Quebec as elsewhere, for refusing to recognize education with cabinet rank was that the schools should be protected from the pressures of politics.[22] Experience, however, did not bear out this expectation and Ontario appointed its first Minister of Education in 1875, followed by the other provinces during the next century. The minister is responsible for the operation of the educational system, his duties and obligations being embodied in an Education or Public Schools Act which gives him power to make regulations on specific areas of his responsibility. There is no federal minister or office of education.

A. Administrative Organization

52. The minister has general powers over the ministry, the administration of which is carried on by a Deputy Minister of Education, who is a civil servant and usually a career educator. Acting both as advisor and administrator, the deputy is directly responsible to the minister and his duties have become much more onerous and diverse in recent years due to changes in educational policies. The functions of the ministry have multiplied to include the supervision of schools, curriculum, teacher certification, research, support services (libraries, health, transport, etc.) and finance, and it must be recognized that education has now become one of the largest "service" or "spending" ministries in each provincial government.

53. The management of schools is the responsibility of local or regional school boards, whose powers are determined and delegated by the legislatures. One of the first steps toward decentralization has been to establish and maintain the efficiency of these local boards and measures have been taken recently in all provinces to amalgamate them, thereby reducing their number. Originally, it was customary to establish local boards within municipal boundaries and at the beginning of the 1960's they numbered over 10,000.[22] Since then, the number has been cut by the consolidation of local boards into central or county units, with jurisdiction over a larger territory and a larger number of schools. In Ontario, for example, the number of school boards has been reduced from 3,200 to about 200 since 1964; in New Brunswick, 422 school districts were reduced to 33 in 1967; and, in Prince Edward Island, 216 boards were replaced by five administrative units in 1971. The process is not by any means complete but already results, such as the reduction in the number of schools and larger enrolments in those in operation, are beginning to appear. Generally speaking, the boards are responsible for the

operation of both elementary and secondary schools within a given area, as well as the appointment of teachers and the purchase of supplies and equipment; moreover, they are authorized to levy taxes and administer grants received from the ministry. Most now employ a director of education, a business officer and staff, and various consultants to assist the teachers.

54. Another important innovation, adopted in a few provinces, is the division of responsibility between two ministries, one of which is in charge of elementary-secondary education, the other of post-secondary or advanced education. Although most provinces continue to operate their systems through a single ministry, Ontario established a Ministry of University Affairs in 1964, which has now become the Ministry of Colleges and Universities. The two were under the direction of a single minister until 1970, when the duties were separated. Manitoba introduced a similar plan in 1971, although it has since reverted to the practice of placing one minister in charge. Alberta and Saskatchewan have also established two ministries, the former with two ministers, the latter with one having dual jurisdiction.

B. Advisory Bodies

55. The universities' concern for protecting what they considered to be their academic freedom was a decisive factor in the separation of the ministries, but there have been further demands for other safeguards. This explains the creation in most provinces of "grants councils" or "commissions", intended to serve as intermediaries between the government and the institutions. Most of these, as Table 21 indicates, were established during the 1960's and were modelled on the University Grants Committee in the United Kingdom; however, changes in the original model and differences in the interpretation of procedures have resulted in a wide diversity of structures and practices. The membership of these bodies varies from two to twenty; university representation is permitted in some instances but denied in others; the chairman is sometimes a full-time official, sometimes not; and, in some provinces, the jurisdiction is limited to the universities, while in others it includes all types of post-secondary institutions. In Alberta, after several years of operation, the commission was abolished in 1973.

56. Recognizing the difficulty in maintaining lines of communication between the government and the general public, several of the provincial commissions of enquiry have recommended the establishment of commissions or councils to act as permanent advisory bodies on all aspects of education. These bodies would provide assistance to both the minister and the ministry by developing strategy for reform and by relaying public opinion. The realization of this concept has been carried farthest in Quebec, where the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation was established in 1964, at the same time as the ministry. The Council acts strictly in an advisory capacity. It is obliged to give its opinion and advice on any matter submitted to it by the minister for consideration, and it may offer advice on any matter it feels to be important or relevant. Its 24 members are appointed by the government for a specified term and they are representative of the Quebec community as a whole. The chairman carries out full-time duties, whereas the vice-chairman is a part-time official, and they are supported by a small secretariat. One of the Council's most important duties is to prepare an annual report to the Legislature on the state and needs of education in Quebec.[23]

TABLE 21

PROVINCIAL COMMISSIONS OR ADVISORY BODIES FOR UNIVERSITY OR POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

Province	Date of Act	Name	Appointment of Chairman	Number of Members	Powers
Newfoundland	1949	Board of Regents	Government	19	Direction
Prince Edward Island	1969 (abolished 1973)	Post-Secondary Education Commission*	Government	3	Decision Consultation
Nova Scotia	1963	University Grants Committee*	Government	7	Consultation
New Brunswick	1967	Higher Education Commission*	Government	9	Consultation Decision
Quebec	1968	Conseil des Universités	Government	17	Consultation
Ontario	1974	Ontario Council on University Affairs	Government	20	Consultation
	1965	Council of Regents	Government	14	Consultation
Manitoba	1967	Universities Grants Commission	Government	9	Decision
	Task Force Recommendation	Commission on Post-Secondary Education**	Government	13	Consultation Decision
Saskatchewan	1974	Universities Commission	Government	2	Consultation
Alberta	1966 (abolished 1973)	Universities Commission	Government	9	Decision
	1969 (abolished 1973)	Colleges Commission	Government	9	Decision
British Columbia	1974	Universities Council	Government	11	Consultation

* Replaced in 1974 by the Maritime Provinces Higher Education Commission.

** Recommended by Task Force on Post-Secondary Education, 1973. Legislation not yet implemented.

C. The Search for Cooperative Action

57. The upsurge of educational reform in recent years in Canada undoubtedly reflects a strong desire among the public to expand and improve educational services and a willingness on the part of governments to provide them. However, no means has yet been devised to ensure cooperative action. The expression of public opinion does not necessarily respect provincial boundaries and the increasing mobility of Canadians makes comparison between the systems and the discussion of national objectives almost inevitable. There has never been a time when so many Canadians were involved in the enterprise of education - students, teachers, parents, administrators, legislators and interested laypersons - and most of them agree on the principles of universal and continuing education. They also demand that Canadian education should develop a character of its own to distinguish it from the traditions of both Europe and the rest of North America. They believe in unity of purpose and diversity of practice. With the expansion of services and the increase in budgets, they are now demanding some assurance of intergovernmental harmony and cooperation in choosing basic objectives and priorities. Evidence of this may be found in the two Canadian Conferences on Education, in the existence of various non-governmental organizations and in the recent establishment of the Council of Ministers of Education.

58. The Canadian Conferences on Education were unusual experiences. Sponsored by nineteen national organizations, representing education, labour, industry and commerce, the first was held in Ottawa during February 1958 and the second in Montreal four years later. Participants came from more than seventy interested groups - officials of the ministries of education, the federal government and large city systems, the universities, labour unions and business community, social and cultural organizations. The ministers of education were honorary chairmen and several were in attendance. At both conferences, the program extended over several days and the speakers included foreign educational leaders as well as Canadians. Much of the program was devoted to discussions about topics on which special preparatory literature had been distributed, and these deliberations resulted in recommendations which were forwarded to the appropriate authorities. Attendance at the first conference was over 1,000 and the limit of 2,000 for the second was surpassed. Proceedings were published and the record covers a wide range of public opinion on Canadian problems of education at the beginning of the 1960's.

D. Non-Governmental Organizations

59. Through a century during which there were no governmental agencies to provide for interprovincial communication on matters of education, Canadian educators have had to depend largely on non-governmental organizations for the exchange of information, the discussion of mutual problems and the planning of common strategies. The need for such an agency had become evident within the first quarter-century after confederation. In 1892, officials of the seven provinces and some from the larger cities met in Quebec and founded the Dominion Education Association. This has continued to function and its annual conventions bring together educational leaders from across the country. As the Canadian Education Association, it is financed through grants from the provinces and most of its presidents have been deputy ministers of education. During its long history it has published a number of useful studies, beginning with the *Survey Report* in 1943, which was prepared by several deputy ministers and

offered a number of proposals for the improvement of Canadian education in the post-war years. A permanent office was established in Toronto in 1946. Other surveys were carried out in cooperation with various national bodies, including *Health Survey of Canadian Schools* (1947), *The Status of the Teaching Profession* (1948) and *Practical Education in Canadian Schools* (1949). The Association now publishes a quarterly, *Education in Canada*, a monthly newsletter and other occasional papers. Though founded more recently, in 1947, l'Association canadienne d'éducation de langue française serves French-language educators in particular. It also is supported by provincial grants, particularly from Quebec, and its emphasis is cultural as well as educational. The annual conventions, held each year in a different province, are well attended by French-speaking leaders and teachers from all provinces and it also publishes a quarterly magazine, *la Revue*.

60. The National Conference of Canadian Universities, an organization of a different type, was founded in 1912 and now operates under the name of the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada. Its membership includes almost all the institutions of higher learning and the officers are drawn from the senior administrators, usually the presidents, of the member universities. In the early years the activities were limited to annual meetings for the discussion of mutual problems, but during World War II the officers were frequently consulted by the federal government on matters concerning the war effort, future planning and reconstruction. During the 1950's, the association was active in persuading federal authorities to support the universities through annual grants and, in the 1960's, it initiated several comprehensive studies of higher education in Canada. These included: *Financing Higher Education in Canada* (1965), *University Government in Canadian Universities* (1966), *University, Society and Government* (1970), *Research Policy in Canadian Universities* (1972). The Association publishes a yearly *Handbook*, giving detailed descriptions of the programs of its members and it also publishes a monthly bulletin, *University Affairs*. In 1969, a similar organization was formed among the community colleges with the assistance of the Canadian Association for Adult Education and a substantial grant from the Kellog Foundation in the United States. It is known as the Association of Canadian Community Colleges and the membership includes both institutions and individuals, representing over 100 local and regional college boards, faculties and students, as well as other interested persons.

61. Professional organizations of teachers were among the earliest educational societies to be formed within the provinces, and at least one pre-dates confederation. After World War I, provincial units formed the Canadian Teachers' Federation, which now includes all the associations of elementary-secondary teachers in the ten provinces, with the exception of the Centrale des enseignants du Québec, which was formed among the French-speaking teachers of Quebec during the 1950's and now has a membership of nearly 60,000. The Canadian Teachers' Federation established a central office in Ottawa in 1948, and for many years has held annual conferences in various centres across the country. Its research division has published statistical summaries of educational finance in Canada, beginning with the year 1946-47 and continuing to the present. Through its membership in the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession, the Federation has been active in recruiting teachers to serve in developing countries. The Canadian Association of University Teachers, founded in 1952, has a similar structure, being a federation of provincial organizations. It also

maintains a national office in Ottawa. The Canadian Association of School Administrators was founded about the same time by administrative officers of provincial and city school systems. Through annual conferences and periodical bulletins, it provides for the exchange of information among its members.

62. Several other organizations, all of them formed before World War II, represent groups with special interests in education such as school trustees and parents. The Canadian School Trustees' Association, which was founded in 1923, brings together elected school board members from all provinces. The Fedération des commissions scolaires catholiques du Québec is not a member of the Association but is linked with a more recently established group - l'Association des commissaires d'école de langue française du Canada - which draws its membership from French-speaking areas in several provinces. There is also a Canadian Catholic School Trustees' Association, whose members come from the provinces which have Catholic school boards. The Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation was founded in 1927 as a coordinating agency for home and school groups in all provinces. For many years it has held annual conventions at which members have an opportunity to discuss topics related to parents and schools. The activities of the Canadian Association for Adult Education and l'Institut canadien d'éducation des adultes have already been described.

63. The Canada Studies Foundation is a private organization designed to promote interprovincial cooperation in teaching and learning about Canada. Established in 1969 with headquarters in Toronto, its small administrative staff is responsible for about fifty projects in different parts of the country. Some of these, such as the Laurentian projects conducted in Ontario and Quebec, are bilingual. Others deal with cultural concerns, such as the study undertaken by the Acadians in New Brunswick within the framework of Project Atlantic Canada. Another major venture is Project Canada West which coordinates a great variety of regional studies in all four western provinces. Each project is staffed by local teachers, students and interested citizens and workshops are held from time to time to create local interest. Generally speaking, the response in all parts of the country has been very encouraging.

E. Council of Ministers of Education, Canada

64. A new agency, the Council of Ministers of Education, emerged in the mid-sixties for the purpose of providing a structure for cooperative action. It grew out of discussions held in the Standing Committee of Ministers of Education, which had been established in 1960 to provide for interprovincial communication and cooperation at the policy level. This Standing Committee held its annual meeting a day or two before the yearly convention of the Canadian Education Association. At that time the responsibility for administering education was provided for differently in the various provinces. In some it was assigned to a single minister; in others it was given to a minister who had jurisdiction over several departments. In two provinces - Ontario and Nova Scotia - the Premier himself acted as Minister of Education while, in Quebec, the duties were discharged first by the Provincial Secretary and then by the Minister of Youth. By the middle sixties, ministries of education had been established in most provinces and the new ministers agreed that a more permanent organization was required.

65. This decision was influenced by a variety of factors. Enrolments were still rising rapidly, in spite of evidence that the birth-rate was beginning to decline. The impact of some reports from commissions of enquiry, particularly the Parent Report in Quebec, created a climate of excitement and anticipation. The Federal-Provincial Conference on Higher Education in 1966 marked a radical change in the method of funding post-secondary education and manpower training. There was an obvious need for cooperative action in the field of educational research. The needs of developing countries for assistance in education could not be ignored. Moreover, the educational planning activities of international bodies, such as UNESCO and OECD, made it imperative that Canada should speak among sister nations with an authoritative voice on matters of educational policy.

66. After preliminary discussions, an "Agreed Memorandum" was adopted by the ministers in 1967. This stated that the purpose of the Council would be "to enable the Ministers to consult on such matters as are of common interest, and to provide a means for the fullest possible cooperation among provincial governments in areas of mutual interest and concern in education." Provision was made also for consultation "with other educational organizations on ways to promote the development of education in Canada." It should be noted that the memorandum makes it clear that the provincial ministries must remain autonomous and that, "no recommendation or decision of the Council may be considered binding on provincial Ministers with respect to their jurisdictions."

67. The past chairman recently stated that the Council "... is reaching a period of maturation after many years of discreet growth." During this time, however, the Council made considerable progress in regard to exchanges of information and the initiation of joint projects in areas of mutual concern among provinces. It also began to establish relationships with various federal government departments and to participate in international education events in cooperation with the Department of External Affairs. However, growth and development brought with them the need to re-examine and redefine the role and responsibilities of the Council.

68. To this end, a more comprehensive "Agreed Memorandum" was prepared and signed in January 1974, after a careful review of the Council's early activities. The objectives remain unchanged but the new agreement is more explicit about membership, structure and procedures. The conditions and duties of membership are clearly stated. Meetings of the Council are to be held at least twice each year. The Executive Committee is composed of the chairman, vice-chairman and three other members to assure that all regions of the country are represented. An advisory committee of deputy ministers has been established, which includes members from all provinces, under the chairmanship of the deputy minister from the province represented by the chairman. This body serves as a steering committee and is responsible for preparing the agenda and documentation for each meeting, as well as for recommending appropriate action. The secretariat, under the direction of the secretary general, is responsible for the day-to-day operations of the Council and has been incorporated under the laws of Ontario. Special committees and task forces may be appointed from time to time by the Council or the Executive but, except in unusual circumstances, their mandates are limited to twelve months. The budget, which is now about $600,000, is raised through the provincial ministries according to a per capita formula.

69. The changes introduced by the new agreement give the Council a more solid structure. As a result, the Executive, Advisory Committee and secretariat are better able to ensure continuity with regard to plans and policies. Another significant change is the opening of channels of communication with outside bodies, including the general public. Publication of the secretary general's annual report in 1973 for the first time gave non-members a description of the Council's work and an opportunity to appreciate its accomplishments.

70. It is becoming evident that, at the present stage of its development, the Council is beginning to fulfil its role as a national coordinating mechanism in education by working toward the attainment of common goals and the establishment of common priorities for the provinces. The Council has also shown that it can facilitate federal-provincial relations by negotiating collectively with the federal government with respect to those matters on which a consensus position has been reached by the ministers of education. Thus, rather than functioning as another level of government in a federal state, the Council may provide the lubricant that will keep government machinery in the area of education working smoothly.

71. In adopting the new "Agreed Memorandum", the ministers point to the success of their various projects since 1970. The Council has sponsored three major studies:

Canadian Studies in Canadian Schools (1971)
Financing Post-Secondary Education in Canada (1971)
Study Papers to Assist in the Formulation of a
Policy Position on Manpower Training (1972).

The second and third of these have served as background during discussions between the Council and the federal government on future policy. Apart from the value of the reports themselves, the studies included a number of research papers that are of considerable value. Another very successful project was a seminar on transmission technology for education, held in 1972 and attended by about 100 federal and provincial officials, as well as a number of technical experts. This provided an unusual opportunity for the exchange of opinion among persons in all provinces who are working in this highly specialized field.

72. The Council is also responsible for the administration of two federally-funded bilingual education programs. Within the framework of the Summer Language Bursary Program, approximately 4,400 post-secondary students receive bursaries, which enable them to attend immersion courses in Canada's official languages offered in over thirty institutions across the country during the summer. Under the Interprovincial Second-Language Monitor Program, post-secondary students study for a year in a province other than their province of residence and work part-time as monitors (teaching assistants) under the direction of second-language teachers. Each program is coordinated by a committee composed of provincial representatives.

73. Currently functioning under the aegis of the Council are more than a dozen committees and task forces, whose membership is drawn from senior ministry personnel in all provinces. These groups are remarkably active,

holding anywhere from three to ten meetings per year depending on the complexity of their mandate. The Media Programming Committee, operating through English and French-language sections, not only plans and produces school broadcasts but also maintains liaison with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the National Film Board of Canada. Under the Curriculum Committee, one of the major projects was conducted by the Metric Task Force, which produced the Metric Style Guide for Elementary and Secondary Schools and submitted reports on areas of cost and target dates. Other task forces in the curriculum area are investigating the teaching of English and French as second languages and equivalency assessment for transferred students. There is also a Statistics Committee which, through several working groups, collaborates closely with Statistics Canada on various aspects of data collection in the field of education. A special Federal-Provincial Task Force on Research was appointed, with representatives from the Council, the federal Ministry of Science and Technology and the Department of the Secretary of State, to examine the federal mechanisms for funding university research. Finally, during the past two years, the OECD Review Coordinating Committee has been charged with laying the groundwork for the present study of Canadian education.

74. The work of these committees is in itself important, since it covers a wide range of problems, but equally important is the fact that over one hundred senior officials from the provincial systems are brought together two or three times a year to exchange opinions about their work. Wider contacts still are now offered through the Council's participation in international education activities in cooperation with the Department of External Affairs. The Council makes recommendations to the Secretary of State for External Affairs regarding the composition of Canadian delegations to international conferences dealing with educational matters, and also cooperates in the preparation of reports and working papers for these conferences. Other examples of its involvement at the international level are the present study, which has been undertaken with the federal government and the OECD, and the educational exchanges which the Council has organized with the Soviet Union under the terms of the Canada-USSR General Exchanges Agreement.

75. The main tasks facing the Council in the next few years will be to coordinate the efforts of the ministries of education in achieving common goals and priorities and to continue to improve working relations with the federal government and various educational organizations. In a federal state, leadership must come through a cooperative effort on the part of all agencies involved, and the Council of Ministers of Education should be able to provide a vital contribution in shaping the policies of Canadian education.

STATISTICAL ANNEX

Note: Due to the diversity of the systems of education in Canada and the different methods of data collection and compilation, the reader will note that differences exist between the statistics given in the introduction and those included in the regional reports.

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TABLE 1

KINDERGARTEN ENROLMENT, FOR THE PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS

	1956-57	1961-62	1966-67	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74^P	1974-75^E	1975-76^E
				(Public,	Private,	Federal)		
Newfoundland	2,444	5,747	8,381	12,927	12,656	12,670	12,870	12,440
Prince Edward Island	50	86	--	10	11	11	10	10
Nova Scotia	15,702	18,117	18,732	15,652	14,970	14,759	14,160	14,730
New Brunswick	34	66	68	177	193	177	180	190
Atlantic Provinces	18,230	24,016	27,181	28,766	27,830	27,616	27,220	27,370
Quebec	10,024	13,852	61,621	105,428	99,077	94,815	93,800	90,000
Ontario	71,455	100,575	136,500	152,772	161,409	166,123	172,700	182,400
Manitoba	5,623	6,192	7,731	16,755	16,204	16,846	17,310	17,830
Saskatchewan	2,700	3,274	3,947	5,592	5,406	6,515	6,510	6,250
Alberta	745	677	733	3,427	3,716	765	800	840
British Columbia	2,988	7,536	15,961	21,389	25,994	33,425	36,170	38,710
Western Provinces	12,056	17,679	28,372	47,163	51,320	57,551	60,790	63,630
Yukon Territories	..	--	1	19	--	--	--	--
Northwest Territories	112	326	686	1,100	1,185	1,280	1,210	1,330
Overseas	--	999	1,034	428	449	465	470	470
Canada	111,877	157,447	255,395	355,676	341,270	347,850	356,190	365,200
				Private	Kindergarten & Nursery			
Atlantic Provinces	..	..	1,434	1,050	1,498	1,595	1,700	1,800
Quebec	..	..	..	1,500^E	1,400^E	1,400^E	1,400	1,300
Ontario	..	..	8,944	15,238	19,617	16,204	16,700	17,200
Western Provinces	..	..	19,982[1]	22,712	22,409	19,371	19,840	19,180
Canada	..	..	39,911[2]	40,500	44,924	38,570	39,640	39,480

P - Preliminary
E - Estimated

[1] - Does not include Saskatchewan
[2] - Includes estimates for Quebec and Saskatchewan

TABLE 2

ELEMENTARY-SECONDARY ENROLMENT, FOR THE PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS

	1956-57	1961-62	1966-67	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74^{P}	1974-75^{E}	1975-76^{E}
			Public[1],	Private[2],	Federal[1]			
Newfoundland	108,221	134,317	149,527	163,564	162,566	160,660	159,640	158,210
Prince Edward Island	23,189	26,343	28,911	30,636	29,405	29,197	28,730	27,980
Nova Scotia	166,299	193,600	205,939	216,750	213,280	209,541	205,520	202,200
New Brunswick	133,862	158,430	168,777	177,066	175,191	171,519	167,580	164,050
Atlantic Provinces	431,571	512,690	553,154	588,016	580,442	570,917	561,470	552,440
Quebec	991,505	1,257,771	1,538,455	1,638,095	1,598,542	1,542,283	1,469,900	1,396,500
Ontario	1,126,592	1,497,675	1,853,464	2,082,466	2,080,046	2,063,203	2,045,700	2,034,700
Manitoba	178,063	211,738	241,458	257,954	252,461	248,309	246,110	243,840
Saskatchewan	190,524	225,676	249,520	248,647	239,885	230,943	221,980	213,450
Alberta	244,175	318,747	381,843	437,002	434,063	428,302	424,700	421,940
British Columbia	279,768	369,762	475,589	549,190	562,164	561,780	567,330	573,440
Western Provinces	892,530	1,125,923	1,348,410	1,492,793	1,488,573	1,469,334	1,460,120	1,452,670
Yukon	307	2,893	3,444	4,606	4,749	4,957	5,150	5,400
Northwest Territories	3,122	4,940	6,990	11,209	11,369	12,019	12,160	12,360
Overseas	--	7,937	8,439	4,569	4,589	4,607	4,600	4,620
Canada	3,445,627	4,409,829	5,312,356	5,821,954	5,768,310	5,667,320	5,559,100	5,458,690

1 - Includes kindergarten enrolments
2 - Excludes private kindergarten and nursery school enrolments

TABLE 3

GRADE XII ENROLMENT[1] RELATED TO GRADE II ENROLMENT TEN YEARS EARLIER FOR THE REGIONS AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS

	1961-62	1966-67	1971-72	1972-73
Atlantic Provinces[2]	29.6	42.4	56.4	57.0
Quebec	7.5	31.3	71.2	73.6
Ontario	51.4	62.5	70.4	68.9
Western Provinces	57.6	68.8	77.7	75.3
Yukon & Northwest Territories	..	56.2	33.2	37.9
Canada[2]	36.4	52.0	71.3	71.0

1 - Regular public, private and federal schools
2 - Does not include Newfoundland

Note: Figures are adjusted for migration

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION AGED 15 to 17 YEARS ATTENDING SCHOOL [1] REGIONS AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS

	1961-62		1966-67		1971-72		1972-73	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Atlantic Region								
15 years	91.7	94.5	90.4	67.6	92.1	92.9	93.8	95.1
16 years	67.5	84.0	77.2	77.9	79.7	80.8	79.5	80.6
17 years	45.2	39.2	54.3	50.0	57.2	53.9	53.9	50.5
Quebec								
15 years	77.8	68.9	87.1	84.[illegible]	93.8	93.7	89.0	90.0
16 years	54.0	40.6	71.2	64.1	85.1	85.3	77.9	80.2
17 years	29.0	14.2	46.6	34.7	55.9	56.6	50.4	48.7
Ontario								
15 years	90.7	90.6	99.4	99.1	99.5	98.2	99.5	99.2
16 years	75.9	75.2	90.6	89.1	91.3	89.8	91.6	90.3
17 years	61.8	54.7	72.7	65.4	80.2	73.8	77.3	72.7
Western Region								
15 years	99.2	102.5	99.6	99.4	95.1	96.2	98.5	98.8
16 years	84.6	84.4	91.6	91.5	89.0	88.6	91.3	92.8
17 years	68.8	63.5	75.2	70.0	65.9	60.5	74.4	70.5
Yukon & N.W.T.								
15 years	73.7	83.0	53.3	109.0	94.2	93.1	68.7	87.4
16 years	49.3	51.3	75.3	50.0	71.5	67.1	64.4	61.8
17 years	25.0	38.0	55.7	54.7	57.5	55.8	53.2	43.5
Canada								
15 years	88.9	87.1	94.6	91.3	95.9	95.8	95.5	96.0
16 years	70.0	67.2	83.4	80.7	87.6	87.1	86.2	86.9
17 years	50.8	41.5	63.2	55.1	66.6	63.1	66.1	62.7

1 - Elementary & secondary levels of public, private & federal schools

TABLE 5

ELEMENTARY-SECONDARY ENROLMENT, PRIVATE SCHOOLS PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS

	1956-57	1961-62	1966-67	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76
				Private[1]				
Newfoundland	113	570	1,175	746	843	920^E	930	930
Prince Edward Island	1,345	639	345	--	--	--	--	--
Nova Scotia	5,376	6,470	4,508	1,405	1,394	1,290^E	1,220	1,120
New Brunswick	2,332	2,574	1,389	398	636	610^E	570	530
Atlantic Provinces	9,166	10,253	7,417	2,549	2,873	2,820	2,720	2,580
Quebec	88,742	96,478	92,951	64,766^E	67,940^E	72,785	75,890	80,670
Ontario	21,547	27,826	46,072	43,949	44,826	47,500	50,310	52,440
Manitoba	8,567	11,150	10,244	7,438	7,224	7,221$_E$	6,950	6,790
Saskatchewan	3,303	4,823	2,227	1,710	1,268	980$_E$	840	810
Alberta	5,074	6,374	5,324	5,439	5,403	5,050$_E$	4,900	4,740
British Columbia	13,361	22,731	24,762	21,777	22,061	22,260^E	22,470	22,810
Western Provinces	30,305	45,078	42,557	36,364	35,956	35,511	35,160	35,150
Canada	149,760	179,635	188,997	147,628	151,595	158,616	164,080	170,840

P - Preliminary
E - Estimate

1 - Excludes private kindergarten and nursery schools enrolment

TABLE 6

TOTAL FULL-TIME ENROLMENT RELATED TO RELEVANT AGE GROUPS, SELECTED YEARS

	1956-57			1961-62		
	Kdgn.[1] To 5 Yrs.	1-XIII[1] & 6-17	Post-Sec.[2] 18-24	Kdgn.[1] To 5 Yrs.	1-XIII[1] & 6-17	Post-Sec.[2] 18-24
		%			%	
Newfoundland	19.2	92.1	2.2	44.6	92.4	5.0
Prince Edward Island	1.9	94.1	5.6	3.6	95.1	10.3
Nova Scotia	91.3	90.2	8.2	105.3	93.1	11.0
New Brunswick	0.2	92.2	17.1	0.4	94.5	10.6
Atlantic Provinces	38.1	91.5	6.3	50.3	93.5	9.4
Quebec	8.6	86.4	8.0	10.8	91.6	12.2
Ontario	58.5	97.9	7.1	71.9	99.6	9.7
Manitoba	28.8	95.1	7.1	29.8	95.1	10.3
Saskatchewan	12.9	94.6	6.4	15.0	98.7	11.0
Alberta	2.7	99.6	5.2	2.0	100.1	9.0
British Columbia	9.9	101.8	8.0	21.2	101.2	12.0
Western Provinces	39.8	98.2	6.6	15.8	99.2	10.6
Yukon & N.W.T.	11.2	46.1	--	32.6	84.3	--
Canada	29.0	93.4	7.1	36.7	96.4	10.6

1 - Includes public, private and federal schools, but excludes private kindergarten & nursery schools

2 - Post-Secondary students in non-university institutions and universities and colleges

TOTAL FULL-TIME ENROLMENT RELATED TO RELEVANT AGE GROUPS, SELECTED YEARS

(Concluded)

1966-67			1971-72			1972-73		
Kdgn.[1] To 5 Yrs.	1-XIII[1] & 6-17	Post-Sec.[2] 18-24	Kdgn.[1] To 5 Yrs.	1-XIII[1] & 6-17	Post-Sec.[2] 18-24	Kdgn.[1] To 5 Yrs.	1-XIII[1] & 6-17	Post-Sec.[2] 18-24
	%			%			%	
60.7	93.2	9.0	95.2	95.8	13.0	95.9	94.9	12.3
..	99.0	12.1	0.4	108.4	17.5	0.5	97.3	14.2
105.2	95.7	14.5	99.5	98.0	19.4	101.8	97.4	18.1
0.4	97.0	14.1	1.3	100.7	16.3	1.6	100.3	13.9
56.9	95.6	12.8	64.2	98.3	16.7	65.8	97.6	15.1
45.0	97.3	15.6	91.5	97.3	18.7	93.0	96.3	20.5
85.8	103.7	12.9	106.4	103.3	19.5	119.9	102.5	19.2
35.8	99.1	14.2	90.3	99.6	17.3	94.2	98.7	16.2
17.8	100.2	13.9	31.3	99.5	16.6	33.2	98.6	14.5
2.0	100.8	14.6	10.6	100.5	20.5	11.8	99.9	19.5
39.1	104.5	15.4	57.1	101.1	15.9	70.6	102.0	14.6
23.4	101.6	14.7	44.4	100.4	17.6	50.4	100.2	16.3
49.1	10.7	--	73.9	99.7	--	84.6	93.9	--
54.4	100.5	14.2	81.6	100.3	18.5	88.3	99.7	18.4

TABLE 7

FULL-TIME ELEMENTARY-SECONDARY TEACHERS[1], REGIONS AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS

	1956-57	1961-62	1966-67	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74^P	1974-75^E	1975-76^E
Atlantic Region	15,222	19,067	22,300	26,377	26.844	26,597	26,347	26,056
Quebec	41,427	54,710	67,220	81,705	80,990^E	79,270^E	76,700	73,980
Ontario	39,622	54,444	76,336	95,320	95,007	92,960	92,130	91,230
Western Region	34,355	44,916	56,381	67,624	67,215	68.434	68,670	68.715
Yukon & N.W.T.	263	362	550	834	872	920^E	940	960
Overseas	..	378	477	302	278	311	320	320
Canada	130,889	173,877	223,264	272,162	271,206	268,492	265,107	261,261
Index	100.0	32.8	70.6	107.9	107.2	105.1	102.5	99.6
Kdgn. teachers (Ed. Priv. Kdgn. & Nursery)			In Thousands					
Canada^E		6.0	9.8	14.2	14.3	—		

P - Preliminary
E - Estimated

1 - Elementary-Secondary teachers in public, private and federal schools

TABLE 8

FULL-TIME NON-UNIVERSITY AND UNIVERSITY ENROLMENT, SELECTED YEARS
(BY INSTITUTIONS)

	1956-57	1961-62	1966-67	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74[P]	1974-75[E]	1975-76[E]
Non-university								
Atlantic Region	2,726	3,938	6,164	7,531	6,427	6,233	6,310	6,430
Quebec	13,551	22,987	33,755	84,209	100,227	115,413	124,570	134,060
Ontario	11,571	16,974	24,957	50,345	52,521	54,989	58,700	61,500
Western Region	6,197	9,476	15,327	31,694	31,779	34,215	35,500	36,570
Canada	34,045	53,375	80,203	173,779	190,954	210,850	225,080	238,560
University (Undergraduate)								
Atlantic Region	8,240	12,932	20,575	34,118	33,124	32,405	32,770	33,580
Quebec	24,815	40,849	68,570	54,547	56,682	58,967	61,300	63,900
Ontario	22,195	33,073	61,203	118,039	118,700	125,011	129,600	133,070
Western Region	19,796	34,429	60,270	80,590	76,652	79,205	81,260	84,100
Canada	75,046	121,283	210,618	287,294	285,158	295,588	304,930	314,650
(Graduate)								
Atlantic Region	110	338	1,030	1,973	2,091	1,993	1,950	1,970
Quebec	1,087	2,307	6,500	8,272	8,746	9,147	9,600	10,100
Ontario	1,676	2,903	7,727	16,380	16,324	16,462	16,600	16,700
Western Region	585	1,799	4,462	9,107	9,098	9,222	9,300	9,400
Canada	3,458	7,347	19,719	35,732	36,259	36,824	37,450	38,170
Total (Undergraduate & Graduate)								
Atlantic Region	8,350	13,270	21,605	36,091	35,215	34,398	34,720	35,550
Quebec	25,902	43,156	75,070	62,819	65,428	68,114	70,900	74,000
Ontario	23,871	35,976	68,930	134,419	135,024	141,473	146,200	149,770
Western Region	20,381	36,228	64,732	89,697	85,750	88,427	90,560	93,500
Canada	78,504	128,630	230,337	323,026	321,417	332,412	342,380	352,820

Source: 1956-57: Staff Study 25 (prepared for the Economic Council of Canada)
1961-62 and 1966-67: Education in Canada 1973 (Statistics Canada)
1971-72 and 1972-73: Education in Canada (not published)(Statistics Canada)
1973-74 to 1975-76: Advance Statistics of Education 1974-75 (Statistics Canada)

P - Preliminary
E - Estimate

TABLE 9

PROPORTION OF FEMALES IN POST-SECONDARY INSTITUTIONS, SELECTED YEARS

	1956-57	1961-62	1966-67	1971-72	1972-73^E
			Percentages		
Non-university					
Atlantic Region	98.5	87.6	71.9	65.1	63.8
Quebec	..	62.5	49.3	47.1	45.8
Ontario	..	69.4	60.5	46.8	45.5
Western Region	..	77.0	53.4	42.9	42.8
Canada	..	69.1	55.3	47.0	45.8
University (Undergraduate)					
Atlantic Region	23.4	27.3	33.7	39.3	40.3
Quebec	17.4	22.3	31.3	35.0	36.7
Ontario	22.4	26.5	32.2	37.3	38.1
Western Region	25.8	30.3	38.0	39.5	39.6
Canada	21.8	26.2	33.7	37.7	38.5
(Graduate)					
Atlantic Region	25.5	20.7	16.7	20.4	25.0
Quebec	14.6	21.2	20.6	18.1	25.1
Ontario	14.5	13.8	16.6	16.4	23.5
Western Region	12.8	13.6	16.8	17.8	24.9
Canada	14.6	16.4	18.0	17.4	24.3
Total (Undergraduate & Graduate)					
Atlantic Region	23.4	27.1	32.9	38.2	39.4
Quebec	17.3	22.3	30.4	32.7	35.2
Ontario	21.8	25.5	30.5	34.7	36.3
Western Region	25.5	29.5	36.6	37.3	38.1
Canada	21.4	25.7	32.4	35.4	36.9

E - Estimate

TABLE 10

FULL-TIME TEACHERS IN POST-SECONDARY INSTITUTIONS REGIONS AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS

	1961-62	1966-67	1971-72^{2}	1972-73^{2}	1973-74^{3P}	1974-75^{3E}	1975-76^{3E}
Non-university							
Canada^{E}	4,376	6,266	14,133	15,530	16,528	17,500	18,270
University							
Atlantic Region	865^{E}	1,495^{E}	2,781	2,896	3,239	3,140	3,200
Quebec	2,730^{E}	5,250^{E}	5,544	5,842	6,365	6.500	6,660
Ontario	2,860^{E}	5.580^{E}	10.666	11,015	11,657	12.180	12,480
Western Provinces	2,300^{E}	4,350^{E}	7,327	7,173	7,949	8,060	8,270
Canada	8.755^{E}	16,675^{E}	26,318	26,926	29,210	29,880	30,610

P - Preliminary
E - Estimated

2 - Excludes sabbatical leave
3 - Includes sabbatical leave

TABLE 11

PART-TIME UNIVERSITY ENROLMENT[1], PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS

	1966-67	1971-72	1972-73^{P}	1973-74^{E}	1974-75^{E}	1975-76^{E}
Newfoundland	881	3,708	3,478	3,819	4,090	4,330
Prince Edward Island	409	1,197	919	1,047	1,080	1,110
Nova Scotia	1,774	3,342	3,562	4,166	4,570	4,970
New Brunswick	3,385	4,668	4,833	4,999	5,120	5,240
Atlantic Provinces	6,449	12,915	12,792	14,031	14,860	15,650
Quebec	38,267	61,317	53,212	55,050	56,700	58,400
Ontario	27.860	57,452	61,835	65,955	69.700	71,900
Manitoba	2,656	8,558	8,483	9,384	10,010	10,630
Saskatchewan	2,783	3,678	4,509	4,975	5,240	5,510
Alberta	4,109	7,548	8,174	7,886	8,280	8,670
British Columbia	3,690	3,919	4,767	5.975	6,520	7,090
Western Provinces	13.238	23,703	25,933	28,220	30.050	31,900
Canada	85,814	155,387	153,772	163,256	171,310	177,850

1 - Undergraduate and Graduate Enrolment

P - Preliminary
E - Estimate

TABLE 12

EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION BY LEVEL, PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS

	Total	Elementary and Secondary	Post-secondary			Trade Level
			Non-university	University	Sub-total	
Newfoundland						
1956	..	11,496	417	..	..	516
1961	29,300	20,557	561	3,593	4,154	4,589
1966	73,212	36,888	1,785	24,195	25,980	10,344
1970	122,977	77,223	4,396	22,992	27.388	18,366
1971	142,580	85,484	4,549	34,005	38,554	18,542
1972	154,210	96,692	4,619	32,803	37,422	20,096
1973	173,503	114,522	5,905	30,769	36,674	22,307
Prince Edward Island						
1956	..	2,380	151	..	..	81
1961	6,535	4,779	236	1,009	1,335	421
1966	12,946	9,500	269	2,317	2,586	860
1970	28,959	17,372	1,134	5,980	7,114	4,473
1971	34,587	21,011	1,634	7,052	8,686	4,890
1972	37,904	22,076	1,486	8,897	10.383	5,445
1973	38,421	23,091	3,121	6.292	9,413	5,917
Nova Scotia						
1956	..	26,509	1,034	..	..	839
1961	60,789	46.964	2,506	9,414	11,940	1,885
1966	133,799	71,990	3,497	44,925	48,422	13,387
1970	270,128	131,270	8,242	90,918	99,160	39,698
1971	277,826	146,911	11,236	83,700	94,936	35,979
1972	278,590	160,073	9,886	72,132	82,018	36,499
1973	308,124	180,098	9,825	76,178	86,003	42,023

TABLE 12

EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION BY LEVEL, PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS (cont'd)

	Total	Elementary and Secondary	Post-secondary			Trade Level
			Non-university	University	Sub-total	
New Brunswick						
1956	..	21,486	953	..	..	618
1961	46,085	34,567	1,636	7,347	8,983	2,535
1966	104,476	67,961	3,114	26,735	29,849	6,666
1970	182,659	119,150	5,052	41,606	46,658	16,851
1971	237,714	165,911	6,151	45,696	51,847	19,956
1972	243,432	173,931	5,486	43,694	49,180	20,321
1973	263,135	189,200	3,886	47,931	57,817	22,118
Atlantic Provinces						
1956	76,277	61,871	2,555	9,797	12,352	2,054
1961	142,709	106,867	4,939	21,473	26,412	9,430
1966	324,433	186,339	8,665	98,172	106,837	31,257
1970	604,723	345,015	18,824	161,496	180,320	79,388
1971	692,707	419,317	23,570	170,453	194,023	79,367
1972	714,136	452,772	21,477	157,526	179,003	82,361
1973	783,183	506,911	22,737	161,170	183,907	92,365
Quebec						
1956	236,164	181,436	11,159	32,592	43,751	10,977
1961	540,407	396,500	23,930	100,767	124,697	19,210
1966	1,074,432	755,451	40,035	213.279	253,314	65,667
1970	2,069,698	1,435,327	142,238	364,597	506,835	127,536
1971	2,260,522	1,584,053	178,786	355,633	534,419	142,050
1972	2,446,266	1,673,212	229,514	390,714	620,228	152,826
1973	2.720,718	1,843,539	277.362	432,758	710,120	167,059

TABLE 12

EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION BY LEVEL, PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS (cont'd)

	Total	Elementary and Secondary	Post-secondary			Trade Level
			Non-university	University	Sub-total	
Ontario						
1956	329,865	271,803	11,722	41,935	53,657	4,405
1961	677,934	541,696	19,516	103,169	122,685	13,553
1966	1,579,326	1,084,696	43,145	381,752	424,897	69,733
1970	3,010,404	1,871,949	187,713	819,094	1,006,807	131,648
1971	3,263,627	2,071,356	217,189	832,993	1,050,182	142,089
1972	3,403,159	2,224,054	220,422	814,557	1,034,979	144,126
1973	3,676,588	2,406,337	208,923	901,306	1,110,229	160,022
Manitoba						
1956	..	36,999	1,398	..	..	989
1961	92,162	71,176	2,313	15,975	18,288	2,698
1966	172,204	117,800	3,050	39,568	42,618	11,786
1970	313,367	203,671	6,177	78,265	84,442	25,254
1971	353,675	238,654	9,312	82,312	91,624	23,397
1972	380,709	255,294	9,376	91,207	100,583	24,832
1973	418,121	279,708	9,841	100,497	110,338	28,075
Saskatchewan						
1956	..	48,635	1,668	..	..	649
1961	102,922	86,592	2,343	11,846	14,189	2,141
1966	188,841	135,212	3,004	41,659	44,663	8,966
1970	273,711	188,094	4,328	61,910	66,238	19,379
1971	299,111	203,299	6,239	66,837	73,076	22,736
1972	314,640	216,348	7,244	66,341	73,585	24,707
1973	340,851	234,594	8,032	71,529	79,561	26,696

TABLE 12

EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION BY LEVEL, PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS (cont'd)

	Total	Elementary and Secondary	Post-secondary			Trade Level
			Non-university	University	Sub-total	
Alberta						
1956	..	74,725	2,158	..		2,189
1961	171,312	135,778	3,388	23,409	26,797	8,737
1966	364,714	234,532	12,008	92,332	104,340	25,842
1970	601,815	370,666	27,592	175,834	203,426	27,723
1971	664,366	414,814	32,059	187,805	219,864	29,688
1972	692,607	445,608	36,757	178,602	215,359	31,640
1973	747,511	482,982	45,626	184,108	229,734	34,795
British Columbia						
1956		80,165	1,526	..		1,191
1961	180,443	143,894	1,999	29,729	31,728	4,821
1966	387,110	253,401	11,792	93,046	104,838	28,871
1970	633,707	413,865	29,140	145,748	174,888	44,954
1971	701,910	466,180	31,945	164,103	196,048	39,682
1972	739,296	509,094	32,894	155,992	188,886	41,316
1973	831,688	577,449	35,137	171,532	206,669	47,570
Western Provinces						
1956	282,510	240,524	6,750	30,218	36,968	5,018
1961	546,839	437,440	10,043	80,959	91,002	18,397
1966	1,112,869	740,945	29,854	266,605	296,459	75,465
1970	1,822,600	1,176,296	67,237	461,757	528,994	117,310
1971	2,019,062	1,322,947	79,555	501,057	580,612	115,503
1972	2,127,252	1,426,344	86,271	492,142	578,413	122,495
1973	2,338,171	1,574,733	98,636	527,666	626,302	137,136

TABLE 12

EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION BY LEVEL, PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS (Concluded)

	Total	Elementary and Secondary	Post-secondary Non-university	University	Sub-total	Trade Level
Yukon						
1956	581	580	—	—	—	1
1961	2,470	2,466	—	4	4	—
1966	3,884	3,353	—	—	—	531
1970	6,420	5,674	—	1	1	745
1971	8,614	7,754	—	..		860
1972	9,221	8,372	—	..		849
1973	10,248	9.290	—	—	—	958
Northwest Territories						
1956	2,943	2,930	—	4	4	9
1961	8,186	8,051	—	7	7	128
1966	14,040	13,016	—	39	39	985
1970	25,443	20,175	—	10	10	5,258
1971	31,304	27,570	—	9	9	3,725
1972	35,906	31.298	—	11	11	4,597
1973	39,257	33,847	—	—	—	5,410
Canada[1]						
1956	935,148	763,475	32,186	116,109	148,295	23,378
1961	1,930,671	1,499,459	58,428	310,629	369,057	62,155
1966	4,155,245	2,790,942	124,965	991,647	1,116,612	247,691
1970	7,600,255	4,880,426	428,305	1,829,604	2,257,909	461,920
1971	8,326,953	5,456,136	499,100	1.888,123	2,387,223	483,596
1972	8,784,691	5,834,247	557,684	1.885,506	2,443,190	507,254
1973	9,619,806	6,394,638	607,658	2,054,560	2,662,218	562,950
1974	10,511,840	6,944,408	690,300	2,257,132	2,947,432	620,000
1975	11,487,794	7,513,511	784,300	2,509,983	3,294,283	680,000

1 - Canada includes overseas and undistributable expenditures

1956	6,808
1961	12,126
1966	46,261
1970	60,967
1971	51,117
1972	48,751
1973	51,641

TABLE 13

MEASUREMENTS - EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION IN RELATION TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS CANADA, 1960 to 1972*

Year	Expenditures on Education	Selected Socio-economic Indicators				
		GNP^{r}	Personal Income	Population	Labour Force	Total Full-time Enrolment^{1}
	1	2	3	4	5	6
		$'000,000			'000	
1956	935.1	32,058	23,531	16,081	..	3,558.0
1960	1,706.0	38,359	29,595	17,870	6,411	4,367.4
1961	1,930.7	39,646	30,104	18,238	6,521	4,594.8
1962	2,377.9	42,927	32,788	18,583	6,615	4,809.3
1963	2,540.8	45,978	34,829	18,931	6,748	5,025.5
1964	2,889.9	50,280	37,282	19,290	6,933	5,240.7
1965	3,399.5	55,364	41,071	19,644	7,141	5,474.9
1966	4,155.2	61,828	46,094	20,015	7,420	5,666.5
1967	5,025.5	66,409	50,579	20,378	7,694	5,870.0
1968	5,777.1	72,586	55,677	20,701	7,919	6,092.8
1969	6,556.8	79,815	61,804^{r}	21,001	8,162	6,245.6
1970	9,565.4^{r}	85,685	66,633^{p}	21,297	8,374	6,361.4
1971	8,327.0^{p}	93,307	73,630	21,568	8,631	6,363.1
1972	8,784.7^{e}	103,493	82,440	21,821	8,891	6,329.3
1973	9,619.8	118,678	93,992	22,065	9,279	6,226.8

TABLE 13

MEASUREMENTS - EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION IN RELATION TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS CANADA, 1960 to 1972* (concluded)

Year	Expenditures Related to Indicators				
	GNP^{2r}	Personal Income	Population	Labour Force	Total Full-time Enrolment
	7 (1 ÷ 2)	8 (1 ÷ 3)	9 (1 ÷ 4)	10 (1 ÷ 5)	(1 ÷ 6)
	%		$ per capita		
1956	2.9	4.0	58	..	263
1960	4.4	5.8	95	266	391
1961	4.9	6.4	106	296	420
1962	5.5	7.3	128	359	494
1963	5.5	7.3	134	377	506
1964	5.7	7.8	150	417	551
1965	6.1	8.3	173	476	621
1966	6.7	9.0	208	560	733
1967	7.6	9.9	247	653	856
1968	8.0	10.4	279	730	943
1969	2.2	10.6	312	803	1,050
1970	8.8	11.4	355	903	1,189
1971	8.9	11.3	386	985	1,309
1972	8.5	10.9	403	988	1,385
1973	8.1	10.2	436	1,037	1,545

1 - Does not include students in trade and apprenticeship programs, nor students in private business colleges.

2 - Public expenditures on education related to GNP came to 4.0% in 1960, 8.1% in 1970, 8.2% in 1971 and 7.8% in 1972.

* This table corresponds to Table 6, page 93 in the previous publication.

TABLE 14

TOTAL ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS[1], FOR THE REGIONS AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS

	1961-62	1966-67	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74^P	1974-75^E	1975-76^E
Atlantic Region	4,261	3,444	2,207	2,097	2,079	2,060	2,037
Quebec	7,967	6,402	4,007	3,919	3,780	3,582	3,493
Ontario	7,623	6,047	5,142	5,093	5,027	4,937	4,866
Western Region	6,929	5,782	4,886	4,961	5,020	4,997	4,970
Yukon & N.W.T.	66	79	82	83	87	87	88
Overseas	22	19	11	11	11	11	11
Canada	28,868	21,773	16,335	16,164	16,004	15,674	15,465

1 - Public, Private, Federal (does not include private, kindergarten & nursery)

P - Preliminary
E - Estimate

TABLE 15

EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION BY SOURCE OF FUNDS
FOR PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS

	Total	Federal[1]	Government Sources Provincial	Municipal	Sub-total	Fees	Other
	$'000						
Newfoundland							
1956	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1961	29,300	4,762	21,180	205	26,147	1,222	1,931
1966	73,212	8,621	56,490	654	65,765	3,223	4,224
1970	122,977	21,475	88,278	649	110,402	6,750	5,825
1971	142,580	24,759	102,960	747	128,466	7,028	7,086
1972	154,210	24,033	113,567	915	138,515	7,006	8,689
1973	173,503	25,744	130,786	1,005	157,535	6,866	9,102
Prince Edward Island							
1956	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1961	6,535	921	3,593	1,412	5,926	391	218
1966	12,946	1,286	7,476	2,727	11,489	702	755
1970	28,959	7,031	17,521	3,850	28,402	1,446	-889
1971	34,587	6,384	21,627	4,732	32,743	1,542	302
1972	37,904	6,636	25,690	2,500	34,826	1,481	1,597
1973	38,421	7,161	29,177	--	36,338	1,583	500
Nova Scotia							
1956	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1961	60,789	5,722	25,895	21,054	52,671	3,521	4,597
1966	133,799	23,183	53,289	30,645	107,117	8,117	18,565
1970	270,128	40,203	143,158	48,006	231,367	11,619	27,142
1971	277,826	44,653	148,098	54,580	247,331	13,051	17,444
1972	278,590	43,316	156,320	58,575	258,211	12,574	7,805
1973	308,124	46,594	172,349	64,499	283,442	13,485	11,197

EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION BY SOURCE OF FUNDS
FOR PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS (cont'd)

	Total	Federal[1]	Government Sources Provincial	Municipal	Sub-total	Fees	Other
	$'000						
New Brunswick							
1956	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1961	46,085	4,526	14,783	19,668	38,977	3,049	4,059
1966	104,476	11,349	38,992	33,325	83,666	5,216	15,594
1970	182,659	32,065	136,194	--	168,259	8,588	5,812
1971	237,714	30,386	190,562	--	220,948	9,250	7,516
1972	243,432	28,583	202,095	--	230,678	7,975	4,779
1973	263,135	30,834	218,105	—	248,939	8,806	5,390
Atlantic Provinces							
1956	76,277	6,333	38,[illegible]69	24,138	68,840	4,285	3,152
1961	142,709	15,931	65,451	42,339	123,721	8,183	10,805
1966	324,433	44,439	156,247	67,351	268,037	17,258	39,138
1970	604,723	100,774	385,151	52,505	538,430	28,403	37,890
1971	692,707	106,182	463,247	60,059	629,488	30,871	32,348
1972	714,136	102,568	497,672	61,990	662,320	29,036	22,870
1973	783,183	110,333	550,417	65,504	726,254	30,740	26,189
Quebec							
1956	236,164	10,019	93,141	94,215	197,375	17,921	20,868
1961	540,407	28,165	259,486	160,235	447,886	47,496	45,025
1966	1,074,432	103,234	524,096	313,067	940,397	77,945	56,090
1970	2,069,698	255,515	1,178,240	437,677	1,871,432	76,339	121,927
1971	2,260,522	237,016	1,375,789	444,047	2,056,852	67,030	136,640
1972	2,446,266	240,469	1,599,129	458,927	2,298,525	80,211	67,530
1973	2,720,718	260,999	1,816,139	474,607	2,551,745	93,956	75,017

TABLE 15

EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION BY SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS (cont'd)

	Total	Federal[1]	Government Sources Provincial	Municipal	Sub-total	Fees	Other
	$'000						
Ontario							
1956	329,865	19,142	114,836	164,563	298,541	19,204	12,120
1961	677,934	47,750	275,245	295,370	618,365	34,734	24,835
1966	1,579,326	177,820	779,309	459,148	1,416,277	72,493	90,556
1970	3,010,404	225,216	1,611,746	786,848	2,623,810	121,490	265,104
1971	3,263,627	252,580	2,022,195	767,257	3,042,032	[illegible]	74,659
1972	3,403,159	246,559	1,990,188	829,892	3,066,639	[illegible]	177,905
1973	3,676,588	256,546	2,193,089	854,358	3,303,993	[illegible]	199,167
Manitoba							
1956	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1961	92,162	10,327	36,905	36,009	83,241	4,682	4,239
1966	172,204	31,957	65,262	53,894	151,113	8,987	12,104
1970	313,367	51,095	157,645	75,930	284,670	14,667	14,030
1971	353,675	54,371	194,928	77,567	326,866	15,662	11,147
1972	380,709	49,147	216,156	88,667	353,970	15,978	10,761
1973	418,121	53,836	242,208	27,781	333,825	17,568	16,728
Saskatchewan							
1956	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1961	102,922	8,886	44,139	40,454	93,479	4,490	4,953
1966	188,841	25,864	81,451	57,396	164,711	8,464	15,666
1970	273,714	49,100	125,619	84,523	259,242	11,106	3,363
1971	299,111	48,193	147,847	82,258	278,298	11,186	9,627
1972	314,640	45,676	160,807	84,555	291,038	10,998	12,604
1973	340,851	49,591	180,412	86,445	316,448	11,666	12,737

TABLE 15

EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION BY SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS (cont'd)

	Total	Federal[1]	Government Sources Provincial	Municipal	Sub-total	Fees	Other
	$'000						
Alberta							
1956	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1961	171,312	14,263	88,651	52,445	155,359	6,387	9,566
1966	364,714	47,027	203,831	84,097	334,95[illegible]	13,791	15,968
1970	601,815	57,237	364 381	134,642	556,260	24,634	20,921
1971	664,366	69,305	398,211	145,500	613,016	25,301	25,649
1972	692,607	67,873	413,528	159,454	640,855	26,357	25,395
1973	747,511	72,818	455,691	169,620	698,129	29,095	20,287
British Columbia							
1956	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1961	180,443	15,824	80,004	64,214	160,042	10,139	10,262
1966	387,110	51,854	169,431	119,813	341,098	21,382	24,630
1970	633,707	73,126	363,691	146,630	583,447	26,864	23,396
1971	701,910	87,592	342,356	213,804	643,752	26,677	31,481
1972	739,296	81,500	376,295	234,629	692,424	28,508	18,364
1973	831,688	84,222	421,644	261,316	767,182	31,382	33,124
Western Provinces							
1956	282,510	24,630	126,865	111,314	262,809	11,867	7,834
1961	546,819	49,300	249,699	193,122	492,121	25,698	29,020
1966	1,112,869	156,702	519,975	315,200	991,877	52,624	68,368
1970	1,822,600	230,558	1,011,336	441,725	1,683,619	77,271	61,710
1971	2,019,062	259,461	1,083,342	519,129	1,861,932	79,226	77,904
1972	2,127,252	244,196	1,166,786	567,305	1,978,287	81,841	67,124
1973	2,338,171	260,467	1,299,955	605,162	2,165,584	89,711	82,876

TABLE 15

EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION BY SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS (concluded)

	Total	Government Sources					
		Federal[1]	Provincial	Municipal	Sub-total	Fees	Other
	$'000						
Yukon							
1956	581	225	356	--	581	--	--
1961	2,470	824	1,639	--	2,463	--	7
1966	3,884	494	2,638	--	3,132	2	750
1970	6,420	710	5,466	--	6,176	110	134
1971	8,614	1,282	7,061	--	8,343	126	145
1972	9,221	1,162	7,758	--	8,920	138	163
1973	10,248	1,255	8,663	--	9,918	150	180
Northwest Territories							
1956	2,943	2,320	485	107	2,912	--	31
1961	8,186	6,927	1,043	163	8,133	--	53
1966	14,040	10,902	2,816	282	14,000	--	40
1970	25,443	8,545	16,446	471	25,462	2	-21
1971	31,304	3,734	26,837	600	31,171	--	133
1972	35,906	3,285	31,751	720	35,756	--	150
1973	39,257	3,654	34,619	820	39,093	--	164
Canada[2]							
1956	935,148	69,477	374,052	394,337	837,866	53,277	44,005
1961	1,930,671	161,023	852,563	691,229	1,704,815	116,111	109,745
1966	4,155,245	539,852	1,985,081	1,155,048	3,679,981	220,322	254,942
1970	7,600,255	882,285	4,208,385	1,719,226	6,809,896	303,615	486,744
1971	8,326,953	911,372	4,978,471	1,791,092	7,680,935	324,189	321,829
1972	8,784,691	886,990	5,293,284	1,918,834	8,099,108	349,841	335,742
1973	9,619,806	944,895	5,902,882	2,000,451	8,848,228	387,985	383,593
1974	10,511,840	1,028,412	6,456,533	2,200,557	9,685,502	425,986	400,352
1975	11,487,794	1,124,115	7,081,372	2,368,577	10,574,064	470,679	443,051

1 - Excludes federal transfers to the provinces for post-secondary education and for the minority language program (1970 to present), as follows:

	$'000,000
1966	30
1970	856
1971	[illegible]
1972	1,058
1973	1,143
1974	1,24[illegible]
1975	1,364

2 - Canada includes overseas and undistributable expenditures:

	$'000
1956	6,808
1961	12,126
1966	46,261
1970	60,967
1971	51,117
1972	48,751
1973	51,641

TABLE 16

EXPENDITURES ON ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION BY SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS

		Government Sources					
	Total	Federal	Provincial	Municipal	Sub-total	Fees	Other
Newfoundland							
1956	11,496	461	8,932	--	9,393	444	1,659
1961	20,557	359	17,654	205	18,218	774	1,565
1966	36,888	288	32,539	654	33,481	1,447	1,960
1970	77,223	4,002	65,233	649	69,884	2,299	5,040
1971	85,484	4,139	72,920	747	77,806	1,938	5,740
1972	96,692	3,308	84,562	915	88,785	1,899	6,008
1973	114,522	3,722	101,186	1,005	105,913	2,020	6,589
Prince Edward Island							
1956	2,380	173	1,305	856	2,334	59	-13
1961	4,779	407	2,798	1,412	4,617	123	39
1966	9,500	311	6,209	2,727	9,247	105	148
1970	17,372	2,377	11,049	3,850	17,276	30	66
1971	21,011	1,303	14,794	4,732	20,8[illegible]9	55	127
1972	22,076	992	18,289	2,500	21,781	144	151
1973	23,091	1,116	21,631	--	22,747	173	171
Nova Scotia							
1956	26,509	705	14,624	11,454	26,783	352	-626
1961	46,964	1,888	22,010	21,018	44,916	704	1,344
1966	71,990	1,447	37,509	30,642	69,598	1,283	1,109
1970	131,270	9,725	70,376	47,960	128,061	1,297	1,912
1971	146,911	8,485	81,999	54,579	145,063	135	1,713
1972	160,073	6,616	91,767	58,574	156,957	168	2,948
1973	180,098	7,445	103,162	64,499	175,106	181	4,811

TABLE 16

EXPENDITURES ON ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION BY SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS

(cont'd)

		Government Sources					
	Total	Federal	Provincial	Municipal	Sub-total	Fees	Other
New Brunswick							
1956	21,486	1,272	8,229	11,788	21,289	401	-204
1961	34,567	1,220	11,181	19,668	32,069	997	1,501
1966	67,961	1,559	28,348	33,325	63,232	1,095	3,634
1970	119,150	12,018	105,135	--	117,153	608	1,389
1971	165,911	6,915	156,876	--	163,791	569	1,551
1972	173,931	5,458	164,993	--	170,451	975	2,505
1973	189,200	6,142	179,393	--	185,535	985	2,680
Atlantic Provinces							
1956	61,871	2,611	33,090	24,098	54,799	1,256	816
1961	10[illegible],867	3,874	53,643	42,303	99,820	2,598	4,449
1966	186,339	3,605	104,605	67,348	175,558	3,930	6,851
1970	345,015	28,122	251,793	52,459	332,374	4,234	8,407
1971	419,317	20,842	326,589	60,058	407,489	2,697	9,131
1972	452,772	16,374	359,611	61,989	437,974	3,186	11,612
1973	506,911	18,425	405,372	65,504	489,301	3,359	14,251
Quebec							
1956	181,436	3,187	65,437	94,215	162,839	9,413	9,184
1961	396,500	5,161	172,782	160,235	338,178	26,338	31,984
1966	755,451	45,423	351,219	313,067	709,709	31,688	14,054
1970	1,435,327	92,527	827,210	437,398	1,357,135	33,138	45,054
1971	1,584,053	52,527	982,607	444,033	1,479,167	24,385	80,501
1972	1,673,212	41,352	1,094,544	458,863	1,594,759	31,559	46,984
1973	1,843,539	46,531	1,232,782	474,540	1,753,853	37,314	52,372

TABLE 16

EXPENDITURES ON ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION BY SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS (cont'd)

	Total	Government Sources Federal	Provincial	Municipal	Sub-total	Fees	Other
Ontario							
1956	271,803	5,043	88,985	164,295	258,323	8,225	5,255
1961	541,696	17,257	212,520	294,049	523,826	13,942	3,928
1966	1,084,696	56,766	510,737	458,256	1,025,759	25,680	33,257
1970	1,871,949	35,571	984,624	786,183	1,806,378	33,182	32,389
1971	2,071,356	28,903	1,199,276	766,848	1,995,027	35,521	40,808
1972	2,224,054	22,662	1,286,785	829,275	2,138,722	40,652	44,680
1973	2,406,337	25,993	1,432,761	853,718	2,312,472	45,271	48,594
Manitoba							
1956	36,999	4,070	10,448	21,425	35,943	714	342
1961	71,176	5,568	27,952	35,974	69,494	1,366	316
1966	117,800	11,574	45,910	53,827	111,311	2,517	3,972
1970	203,671	27,117	91,425	75,885	194,427	3,565	5,679
1971	238,654	26,543	125,950	77,527	230,020	3,992	4,642
1972	255,294	20,842	135,560	88,624	245,026	4,328	5,940
1973	279,708	23,453	152,713	87,734	263,900	4,969	10,839
Saskatchewan							
1956	48,635	2,491	15,568	29,707	47,766	686	183
1961	86,592	4,517	35,451	40,454	80,422	1,879	4,291
1966	135,212	11,274	60,256	57,396	128,926	2,798	3,488
1970	188,094	21,981	77,452	84,523	183,956	1,981	2,157
1971	203,299	18,136	97,100	82,258	197,494	2,212	3,593
1972	216,348	14,225	109,958	84,555	208,738	1,979	5,631
1973	234,594	16,007	124,816	86,445	227,268	1,924	5,402

TABLE 16

EXPENDITURES ON ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION BY SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS (cont'd)

	Total	Government Sources Federal	Provincial	Municipal	Sub-total	Fees	Other
Alberta							
1956	74,725	4,160	38,518	30,375	73,053	829	843
1961	135,778	6,087	67,343	52,445	125,875	2,400	7,503
1966	234,532	18,521	118,481	83,921	220,923	3,863	9,746
1970	370,666	17,661	206,946	134,631	359,238	6,061	5,367
1971	414,814	18,240	234,498	145,500	398,238	6,510	10,066
1972	445,608	14,390	252,771	159,438	426,599	7,124	11,885
1973	482,982	16,192	278,831	169,602	464,625	7,208	11,149
British Columbia							
1956	80,165	2,995	41,750	29,794	74,539	1,870	3,756
1961	143,894	5,508	65,802	64,102	135,412	3,821	4,661
1966	253,401	17,984	100,309	116,706	234,999	7,335	11,067
1970	413,865	20,734	228,175	143,270	392,179	8,394	13,292
1971	466,180	21,270	206,068	210,724	438,062	10,000	18,118
1972	509,094	16,706	230,913	231,577	479,196	10,834	19,064
1973	577,449	18,798	264,702	258,058	541,558	11,889	24,002
Western Provinces							
1956	240,524	13,716	106,284	111,301	231,301	4,099	5,124
1961	437,440	21,680	196,548	192,975	411,203	9,466	16,771
1966	740,945	59,353	324,956	311,850	696,159	16,513	28,273
1970	1,176,296	87,493	603,998	438,309	1,129,800	20,001	26,495
1971	1,322,947	84,189	663,616	516,009	1,263,814	22,714	36,419
1972	1,426,344	66,163	729,202	564,194	1,359,559	24,265	42,520
1973	1,574,733	74,450	821,062	601,839	1,497,351	25,990	51,392

TABLE 16

EXPENDITURES ON ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION BY SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS

(concluded)

	Total	Government Sources				Fees	Other
		Federal	Provincial	Municipal	Sub-total		
Yukon							
1956	580	224	356	--	580	--	--
1961	2,466	823	1,636	--	2,459	--	7
1966	3,353	106	2,495	--	2,601	2	750
1970	5,674	528	4,952	--	5,480	60	134
1971	7,754	868	6,668	--	7,536	73	145
1972	8,372	662	7,464	--	8,126	83	163
1973	9,290	745	8,273	--	9,018	92	180
Northwest Territories							
1956	2,930	2,311	481	107	2,899	--	31
1961	8,051	6,798	1,037	163	7,998	--	53
1966	13,016	9,860	2,834	282	12,976	--	40
1970	20,175	5,523	14,202	471	20,196	--	-21
1971	27,570	--	26,837	600	27,437	--	133
1972	31,298	--	30,428	720	31,148	--	150
1973	33,847	--	32,863	820	33,683	--	164
Canada[1]							
1956	763,475	31,423	294,633	394,016	720,072	22,993	20,410
1961	1,499,459	62,032	638,166	689,725	1,389,923	52,344	57,192
1966	2,790,942	182,255	1,296,846	1,150,803	2,629,904	77,813	83,225
1970	4,880,426	275,754	2,686,779	1,714,820	4,677,353	90,615	112,458
1971	5,456,136	210,468	3,205,593	1,787,548	5,203,609	85,390	167,137
1972	5,834,247	165,408	3,508,034	1,915,041	5,588,483	99,745	146,019
1973	6,394,638	186,125	3,933,113	1,996,421	6,115,659	112,026	166,953
1974	6,944,408	207,507	4,259,350	2,196,377	6,663,234	122,937	158,237
1975	7,513,511	232,055	4,597,166	2,364,127	7,193,348	138,272	181,891

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1 - Canada includes overseas and undistributable expenditures:

1956	4,331
1961	6,439
1966	7,142
1970	25,990
1971	23,139
1972	18,195
1973	19,981

TABLE 17

EXPENDITURES ON ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION BY TYPE OF SCHOOL FOR PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS

		Publicly-controlled Schools					Federal Schools		Private Schools
		Regular Public Schools							
	Total	School Board	Departmental Services	Sub-total	Schools for Handicapped	Other Expenditures		Sub-total	
Newfoundland									
1956	11,496	9,819	1,430	11,249	80	167	--	11,496	--
1961	20,557	18,091	1,912	20,003	232	131	--	20,366	191
1966	36,888	29,615	6,235	35,850	504	184	--	36,538	350
1970	77,223	60,911	13,668	74,579	830	639	--	76,048	1,175
1971	85,484	66,967	15,331	82,298	1,093	769	--	84,160	1,324
1972	96,692	76,231	16,950	93,181	1,202	809	--	95,192	1,500
1973	114,522	92,419	18,071	110,490	1.296	851	--	112,637	1,885
Prince Edward Island									
1956	2,380	1,914	328	2,242	8	51	15	2,316	64
1961	4,779	3,907	626	4,533	22	63	18	4,636	143
1966	9,500	7,761	1,463	9,224	34	114	14	9,386	114
1970	17,372	14,809	1,951	16,760	31	425	126	17,342	30
1971	21,011	17,521	2,753	20,274	33	493	153	20,953	58
1972	22,076	19,118	2.131	21,249	36	518	106	21,909	167
1973	23,091	20,271	1,928	22,199	39	544	124	22,966	185
Nova Scotia									
1956	26,509	21,342	3,823	25,165	194	452	245	26,056	453
1961	46,964	38,940	5,246	44,186	778	512	406	45,882	1,082
1966	71,990	61,131	7,438	68,569	828	801	213	70,411	1,579
1970	131,270	112,368	14,056	126,424	900	1,192	971	129,487	1,783
1971	146,911	124,738	17,350	142,088	1,160	1,442	1,334	146,024	887
1972	160,073	137,389	17,496	154,885	1,275	1,538	1,375	159,073	1,000
1973	180,098	155,923	18,572	174,495	1,374	1,626	1,613	179,108	990

TABLE 17

EXPENDITURES ON ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION BY TYPE OF SCHOOL FOR PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS

(cont'd)

		Publicly-controlled Schools					Federal Schools		Private Schools
		Regular Public Schools							
	Total	School Board	Departmental Services	Sub-total	Schools for Handicapped	Other expenditures		Sub-total	
New Brunswick									
1956	21,486	18,655	2,037	20,692	108	199	165	21,164	322
1961	34,567	30,163	2,344	32,507	378	253	177	33,315	1,252
1966	67,961	46,231	18,408	64,639	785	591	912	66,927	1,034
1970	119,150	73,032	40,807	113,839	1.166	1,954	1,135	118,094	1,056
1971	165,911	90,110	70,163	160,273	1,524	2,313	1,033	165,143	768
1972	173,931	97,340	70,580	167,920	1.676	2,445	1,058	173,099	832
1973	189,200	105,701	76,617	182,318	1.807	2,576	1,239	187,940	1,260
Atlantic Provinces									
1956	61,871	51,730	7,602	59,332	390	869	441	61,032	839
1961	106,867	91,101	10.128	101,229	1,410	959	601	104,199	2,668
1966	186,339	144,738	33,544	178,282	2,151	1,690	1,139	183,262	3,077
1970	345,015	261,120	70,482	331,602	2,927	4,210	2,232	340,971	4,044
1971	419,317	299,336	105,597	404,933	3,810	5,017	2,520	416,280	3.037
1972	452,772	330,078	107,157	437,235	4,189	5,310	2,539	449,273	3,499
1973	506,911	374,314	115,188	489,502	4,516	5,597	2,976	502,591	4,320
Quebec									
1956	181,436	146,739	22,420	169,159	864	1,498	1,065	172,586	8,850
1961	396,500	307,627	49,881	357,508	2,346	3,875	2,421	366,150	30,350
1966	755,451	643,490	56,548	700,038	2,237	10,398	5,103	717,776	37,675
1970	1,435,327	1,121,105	212,348	1,333,453	9,285	19,410	6,719	1,368,867	66,460
1971	1,584,053	1,194,671	269,319	1,463,990	12,093	22,964	14,039	1,513,086	70,967
1972	1,673,212	1,267,052	274,086	1,541,136	13,295	24,239	13,882	1,592,552	80,660
1973	1,843,519	1,390,900	301,928	1,692,828	14,344	25,511	16,237	1,748,920	94,619

TABLE 17

EXPENDITURES ON ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION BY TYPE OF SCHOOL FOR PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS (cont'd)

	Total	Publicly-controlled Schools					Federal Schools		Private Schools
		Regular Public Schools			Schools for Handicapped	Other Expenditures		Sub-total	
		School Board	Departmental Services	Sub-total					
Ontario									
1956	271,803	250,561	9,694	260,255	1,332	804	2,305	264,696	7,107
1961	541,696	478,818	36,762	515,580	4,380	1,620	5,400	526,980	14,716
1966	1,084,696	876,588	149,105	1,025,693	10,632	8,196	9,782	1,054,303	30,393
1970	1,871,949	1,665,030	121,336	1,786,366	9,690	17,369	12,391	1,825,816	46,133
1971	2,071,356	1,820,461	150,586	1,971,047	12,590	20,544	21,432	2,025,613	45,743
1972	2,224,054	1,968,560	146,438	2,114,998	13,842	21,829	21,390	2,172,059	51,995
1973	2,406,337	2,123,435	161,387	2,284,822	14,922	23,079	25,003	2,347,826	58,511
Manitoba									
1956	36,999	30,481	2,518	32,999	114	320	2,747	36,180	819
1961	71,176	60,436	3,624	64,060	225	470	4,027	68,782	2,394
1966	117,800	91,893	8,299	100,192	3,428	1,161	8,472	113,253	4,547
1970	203,671	161,523	24,038	185,561	942	1,701	10,271	198,475	5,196
1971	238,654	180,332	32,491	212,823	1,210	2,000	17,730	233,763	4,891
1972	255,294	199,733	28,682	228,415	1,330	2,116	17,933	249,794	5,500
1973	279,708	218,628	30,976	249,604	1,434	2,229	20,945	274,212	5,496
Saskatchewan									
1956	48,635	42,762	2,356	45,118	248	479	2,010	47,855	780
1961	86,592	75,766	4,072	79,838	292	626	3,713	84,469	2,123
1966	135,212	109,841	14,037	123,878	589	885	7,233	132,585	2,627
1970	188,094	159,276	15,500	174,776	1,222	1,655	8,472	186,125	1,969
1971	203,299	164,632	20,506	185,138	1,276	1,952	12,735	201,101	2,198
1972	216,348	179,211	18,119	197 330	1,403	2,109	13,006	213,848	2,500
1973	234,594	191,207	22,862	214,069	1,516	2,245	15,192	233,022	1,572

TABLE 17

EXPENDITURES ON ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION BY TYPE OF SCHOOL FOR PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS (cont'd)

	Total	Publicly-controlled Schools					Federal Schools		Private Schools
		Regular Public Schools			Schools for Handicapped	Other Expenditures		Sub-total	
		School Board	Departmental Services	Sub-total					
Alberta									
1956	74,725	57,762	12,307	70,075	1,099	558	2,004	73,736	989
1961	135,778	122,910	3,425	126,335	754	884	4,845	132,818	2,960
1966	234,532	190,824	29,246	220,070	910	1,885	7,658	230,523	4,009
1970	370,666	335,755	18,483	354,238	961	2,666	7,636	365,501	5,009
1971	414,814	372,482	18,435	390,917	1,221	3,069	13,450	408,657	6,157
1972	445,608	400,249	19,994	420,243	1,343	3,323	13,700	438,609	6,999
1973	482,982	431,567	23,618	455,185	1,448	3,550	16,001	476,184	6,798
British Columbia									
1956	80,165	68,841	5,482	74,323	844	527	2,366	78,060	2,105
1961	143,894	126,684	6,522	133,206	503	788	4,522	139,019	4,875
1966	253,401	213,765	18,662	232,427	615	1,067	9,989	244,098	9,303
1970	413,865	360,433	26,499	386,932	1,027	1,235	12,154	401,348	12,517
1971	466,180	400,254	30,241	430,495	1,325	1,460	19,329	452,609	13,571
1972	509,094	438,266	32,645	470,911	1,457	1,602	19,625	493,595	15,499
1973	577,449	500,369	35,413	535,782	1,571	1,716	22,928	561,997	15,452
Western Provinces									
1956	240,524	199,852	22,663	222,515	2,305	1,884	9,127	235,831	6,693
1961	437,440	385,796	17,643	403,439	1,774	2,768	17,107	425,088	12,352
1966	740,945	606,323	70,244	676,567	5,542	4,998	33,352	720,459	20,486
1970	1,176,296	1,016,987	24,520	1,101,507	4,152	7,257	38,533	1,151,449	24,847
1971	1,322,947	1,117,700	101,673	1,219,373	5,032	8,481	63,244	1,296,130	26,817
1972	1,426,344	1,217,459	99,440	1,316,899	5,533	9,150	64,264	1,395,846	30,498
1973	1,574,733	1,341,771	112,869	1,454,640	5,969	9,740	75,066	1,545,415	29,318

TABLE 17

EXPENDITURES ON ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION BY TYPE OF SCHOOL FOR PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS

(concluded)

		Publicly-controlled Schools					Federal Schools		Private Schools
		Regular Public Schools							
	Total	School Board	Departmental Services	Sub-total	Schools for Handicapped	Other Expenditures		Sub-total	
Yukon									
1956	580	446	1	447	--	--	133	580	--
1961	2,466	1,601	410	2,011	--	42	413	2,466	--
1966	3,353	2,782	357	3,139	4	173	37	3,353	--
1970	5,674	4,908	529	5,437	13	224	--	5,674	--
1971	7,754	5,950	885	6,835	33	263	623	7,754	--
1972	8,372	6,742	683	7,425	36	276	635	8,372	--
1973	9,290	7,482	736	8,218	39	291	742	9,290	--
Northwest Territories									
1956	2,930	173	458	631	1	3	2,295	2,930	--
1961	8,051	500	181	681	2	2	7,366	8,051	--
1966	13,016	570	100	670	19	5	12,322	13,016	--
1970	20,175	928	14,665	15,593	--	1,688	2,894	20,175	--
1971	27,570	23,514	2,080	25,594	--	1,976	--	27,570	--
1972	31.298	26,902	2,323	29,225	--	2,073	--	31,298	--
1973	33.847	29,180	2,490	31,670	--	2,177	--	33.847	--
Canada[1]									
1956	763,475	649,501	65,477	714,978	4,892	5,058	17,058	741,986	21,489
1961	1,499,459	1,265,443	120,117	1,385,560	9,912	9,266	34,635	1,439,373	60,086
1966	2,790,942	2,274,491	314,975	2,589,466	20,585	25.460	63,800	2,699,311	91,631
1970	4,880,426	4,070,078	526,363	4,596,441	26,067	50,182	66,252	4,738,942	141,848
1971	5,456,136	4,461,632	651,622	5,113,254	33,558	59.245	103,515	5,309,572	146,564
1972	5,834,247	4,816,793	645,266	5,462,059	36,895	62,891	105,750	5,667,595	166,652
1973	6,394,638	5,267,082	711,013	5,978,095	39,790	66,410	123,575	6,207,870	186,768
1974	6,944,408	5,695,409	784,912	6,480,321	43,570	72,710	140,457	6,737,058	207,350
1975	7,513,511	6,140,535	851,289	6,991,824	47,930	79,980	158,740	7,278,474	235,037

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1 - Canada includes overseas and undistributable expenditures:

1956	4,331
1961	6,439
1966	7,142
1970	25,990
1971	23,139
1972	18,195
1973	19,981

TABLE 18

EXPENDITURES ON POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION BY SOURCE OF FUNDS
PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS

	Total	Federal[1]	Government Sources Provincial	Municipal	Sub-total	Fees	Other
Newfoundland							
1956	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1961	4,154	1,203	2,174	--	3,377	425	352
1966	25,980	4,187	18,087	--	22,274	1,642	2,064
1970	27,388	4,432	18,108	--	22,540	4,266	582
1971	38,554	4,067	28,414	--	32,481	4,884	1,189
1972	37,422	3,954	26,064	--	30,018	4,893	2,511
1973	36,674	4,027	25,697	--	29,724	4,622	2,328
Prince Edward Island							
1956	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1961	1,335	290	610	--	900	257	178
1966	2,586	798	700	--	1,498	504	584
1970	7,114	706	6,075	--	6,781	1,364	-1,031
1971	8,686	529	6,609	--	7,138	1,434	114
1972	10,383	613	7,107	--	7,720	1,282	1,381
1973	9,413	647	7,156	--	7,803	1,352	258
Nova Scotia							
1956	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1961	11,940	2,631	3,333	36	6,000	2,696	3,244
1966	48,422	13,982	11,881	3	25,866	5,896	16,660
1970	99,160	11,565	53,020	46	64,631	10,069	24,460
1971	94,936	12,166	54,996	1	67,163	12,641	15,132
1972	82,018	12,382	53,304	1	65,687	12,121	4,210
1973	86,003	13,056	54,260	--	67,316	13,006	5,681

TABLE 18

EXPENDITURES ON POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION BY SOURCE OF FUNDS
PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS (cont'd)

	Total	Federal[1]	Government Sources Provincial	Municipal	Sub-total	Fees	Other
New Brunswick							
1956	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1961	8,983	1,867	2,668	--	4,535	1,917	2,531
1966	29,849	6,060	8,032	--	14,092	3,940	11,817
1970	46,658	6,022	29,317	--	35,337	7,542	3,777
1971	51,847	5,676	32,508	--	38,184	8,200	5,463
1972	49,180	5,096	35,852	--	40,948	6,501	1,731
1973	51,817	5,347	37,053	--	42,400	7,299	2,118
Atlantic Provinces							
1956	12,352	2,941	4,215	40	7,196	2,836	2,320
1961	26,412	5,991	8,785	36	14,812	5,295	6,305
1966	106,837	25,027	38,700	3	63,730	11,982	31,125
1970	180,320	22,725	106,520	46	129,291	23,241	27,788
1971	194,023	22,438	122,527	1	144,966	27,159	21,898
1972	179,003	22,045	122,327	1	144,373	24,797	9,833
1973	183,907	23,077	124,166	--	147,243	26,279	10,385
Quebec							
1956	43,751	6,069	19,324	--	25,393	6,827	11,531
1961	124,697	15,486	76,655	--	92,141	19,711	12,845
1966	253,314	31,410	135,187	--	166,597	45,158	41,559
1970	506,835	54,760	332,632	279	387,671	42,411	76,753
1971	534,419	53,717	382,864	14	436,595	41,776	56,048
1972	620,228	59,496	492,380	64	551,940	67,750	20,538
1973	710,120	64,655	567,161	67	631,883	55,699	22,538

TABLE 18

EXPENDITURES ON POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION BY SOURCE OF FUNDS
PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS (cont'd)

	Total	Government Sources			Sub-total	Fees	Other
		Federal[1]	Provincial	Municipal			
Ontario							
1956	53,657	13,354	23,618	268	37,240	9,733	6,684
1961	122,685	25,738	56,498	1,321	83,557	18,800	20,328
1966	424,897	79,471	242,190	892	322,553	45,151	57,193
1970	1,006,807	98,299	617,334	665	716,298	86,474	204,035
1971	1,050,182	99,112	810,189	409	909,710	109,394	31,078
1972	1,034,979	106,080	682,153	617	788,850	115,898	130,231
1973	1,110,229	104,135	732,147	640	836,922	125,997	147,310
Manitoba							
1956	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1961	18,288	3,526	7,946	35	11,507	2,916	3,865
1966	42,618	10,823	18,110	67	29,000	5,993	7,625
1970	84,442	11,410	56,297	45	67,752	9,686	7,004
1971	91,624	11,688	64,324	40	76,052	10,114	5,458
1972	100,583	11,953	74,861	43	86,857	10,036	3,690
1973	110,338	12,837	81,885	47	94,769	10,913	4,656
Saskatchewan							
1956	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1961	14,189	3,280	7,970	--	11,250	2,301	638
1966	44,663	9,762	17,667	--	27,429	5,089	12,145
1970	66,238	9,342	47,283	--	56,625	8,457	1,156
1971	73,076	8,538	50,298	--	58,836	8,242	5,998
1972	73,585	8,391	50,040	--	58,431	8,220	6,934
1973	79,561	8,841	54,522	--	63,363	8,906	7,292

TABLE 18

EXPENDITURES ON POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION BY SOURCE OF FUNDS
PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS (cont'd)

	Total	Government Sources			Sub-total	Fees	Other
		Federal[1]	Provincial	Municipal			
Alberta							
1956	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1961	26,797	4,500	17,066	--	21,566	3,457	1,774
1966	104,340	16,836	73,915	176	90,927	8,297	5,116
1970	203,426	18,633	152,085	11	170,729	17,823	14,874
1971	219,864	24,579	161,862	--	186,441	18,367	15,056
1972	215,359	26,649	157,375	16	184,040	18,378	12,941
1973	229,734	27,833	172,372	-18	200,223	20,993	8,518
British Columbia							
1956	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1961	31,728	7,465	12,625	112	20,202	6,001	5,525
1966	104,838	26,158	48,413	3,107	77,678	13,618	13,542
1970	174,888	30,778	113,012	3,360	147,150	17,967	9,771
1971	196,048	39,009	124,736	3,080	166,825	16,120	13,103
1972	188,886	37,122	132,589	3,052	172,763	17,104	-981
1973	206,669	35,732	139,996	3,258	178,956	18,897	8,816
Western Provinces							
1956	36,968	9,632	18,106	13	27,751	6,786	2,431
1961	91,002	18,771	45,607	147	64,525	14,675	11,802
1966	296,459	63,579	158,105	3,350	225,034	32,997	38,428
1970	528,994	70,163	368,677	3,416	442,256	53,933	32,805
1971	580,612	83,814	401,220	3,120	488,154	52,843	39,615
1972	578,413	84,115	414,865	3,111	502,091	53,738	22,584
1973	626,302	85,243	448,745	3,323	537,311	59,709	29,282

TABLE 18

EXPENDITURES ON POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION BY SOURCE OF FUNDS PROVINCES AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS

(concluded)

		Government Sources					
	Total	Federal[1]	Provincial	Municipal	Sub-total	Fees	Other
Canada[2]							
1956	148,295	33,559	65,267	321	99,147	26,182	22,966
1961	369,057	70,238	187,554	1,504	259,296	58,481	51,280
1966	1,116,612	234,561	574,213	4,245	813,019	135,288	168,305
1970	2,257,909	280,897	1,425,166	4,406	1,710,469	206,059	341,381
1971	2,387,223	287,068	1,716,800	3,544	2,007,412	231,172	148,639
1972	2,443,190	302,303	1,711,725	3,793	2,017,821	242,183	183,186
1973	2,662,218	308,770	1,872,219	4,030	2,185,019	267,684	209,515
1974	2,947,432	330,905	2,083,833	4,180	2,418,918	294,224	234,290
1975	3,294,283	358,060	2,353,656	4,450	2,716,166	325,487	252,630

1 - Excludes federal transfers to the provinces for post-secondary education and for the minority language program (from 1970 to the present), as follows:

	$'000,000
1966	29
1970	856
1971	943
1972	1,058
1973	1,143
1974	1,248
1975	1,364

2 -Canada includes Yukon, Northwest Territories, overseas and undistributable:

1956	1,567
1961	4,261
1966	35,105
1970	34,953
1971	27,987
1972	30,567
1973	31,660

TABLE 19

EXPENDITURES ON POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION, PROVINCES AND CANADA
(BY TYPE OF EDUCATION)

		University				Non-university			
	Total	Operating	Capital	Departmental & Other	Subtotal	Operating	Capital	Departmental & Other	Subtotal
Newfoundland									
1956	..	..	..	..	..	388	..	29	417
1961	4,154	1,881	1,543	169	3,593	561	--	--	561
1966	25,980	5,563	17,849	783	24,195	1,681	63	41	1,785
1970	27,388	18,229	2,181	2,582	22,992	3,766	65	565	4,396
1971	38,554	24,664	6,991	2,350	34,005	4,372	..	177	4,549
1972	37,422	29,246	1,125	2,432	32,803	4,423	..	196	4,619
1973	36,674	27,482	1,000	2,287	30,769	5,186	500	219	5,905
Prince Edward Island									
1956	..	..	..	..	..	9	..	139	151
1961	1,335	749	300	50	1,099	209	..	27	236
1966	2,586	1,809	412	96	2,317	269	--	--	269
1970	7,114	4,560	177	1,243	5,980	1,102	..	32	1,134
1971	8,686	4,696	1,569	787	7,052	1,447	90	97	1,634
1972	10,383	4,976	2,855	1,066	8,897	1,285	95	106	1,486
1973	9,413	4,777	500	1,015	6,292	2,503	500	118	3,121
Nova Scotia									
1956	..	..	..	..	..	989	..	45	1,034
1961	11,940	8,311	956	167	9,434	1,740	687	79	2,506
1966	48,422	23,024	20,707	1,194	44,925	3,112	160	225	3,497
1970	99,160	51,460	33,191	6,267	90,918	7,155	607	480	8,242
197[illegible]	94,936	58,748	16,247	8,705	83,700	8,022	895	2,319	11,236
1972	82,018	59,616	2,952	9,564	72,132	7,374	700	1,812	9,886
1973	86,003	63,788	2,500	9,890	76,178	7,675	..	2,150	9,825

TABLE 19

EXPENDITURES ON POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION, PROVINCES AND CANADA
(BY TYPE OF EDUCATION) (cont'd)

		University				Non-university			
	Total	Operating	Capital	Departmental & Other	Subtotal	Operating	Capital	Departmental & Other	Subtotal
New Brunswick									
1956	..	..	..	..	..	844	..	109	953
1961	8,983	5,394	1,763	190	7,347	1,306	262	68	1,636
1966	29,849	13,040	12,887	808	26,735	2,739	160	215	3,114
1970	46,658	29,405	7,149	5,052	41,606	4,407	286	359	5,052
1971	51,847	33,569	7,775	4,352	45,696	4,988	382	781	6,151
1972	49,180	38,486	544	4,664	43,694	4,381	250	855	5,486
1973	51,817	42,122	1,000	4,809	47,931	2,933	..	953	3,886
Atlantic Provinces									
1956	12,352	7,088	2,506	203	9,797	2,360	..	195	2,555
1961	26,412	16,335	4,562	576	21,473	3,816	949	174	4,939
1966	106,837	43,436	51,855	2,881	98,172	7,801	383	481	8,665
1970	180,320	103,654	42,698	15,144	161,496	16,355	1,033	1,436	18,824
1971	194,023	121,677	32,582	16,194	170,453	18,829	1,367	3,374	23,570
1972	179,003	132,324	7,476	17,726	157,526	17,463	1,065	2,969	21,477
1973	183,907	138,169	5,000	18,001	161,170	18,297	1,000	3,440	22,737
Quebec									
1956	43,751	24,184	6,796	1,612	32,592	11,053	..	106	11,159
1961	124,697	68,082	27,706	4,979	100,767	18,932	4,117	881	23,930
196[illegible]	253,314	154,338	36,734	22,207	213,279	36,569	2,006	1,460	40,035
197[illegible]	506,835	256,846	61,093	46,658	364,597	118,180	8,625	15,433	142,238
1971	534,419	283,033	34,103	32,497	355,633	149,609	14,172	15,005	178,786
1972	620,228	308,707	35,538	46,469	390,714	194,593	18,955	15,966	229,514
1973	710,120	343,839	40,000	48,919	432,758	239,514	20,000	17,848	277,362

TABLE 19

EXPENDITURES ON POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION, PROVINCES AND CANADA
(BY TYPE OF EDUCATION) (cont'd)

	Total	University				Non-university			
		Operating	Capital	Departmental & Other	Sub-total	Operating	Capital	Departmental & Other	Sub-total
Ontario									
1956	53,657	34,726	6,012	1,197	41,935	11,488	..	234	11,722
1961	122,685	69,043	32,147	1,979	103,169	17,179	1,124	1,213	19,516
1966	424,897	217,893	144,549	19,310	381,752	35,441	4,989	2,715	43,145
1970	1,006,807	528,624	196,336	94,134	819,094	125,802	49,222	12,689	187,713
1971	1,050,182	613,078	140,195	79,720	832,993	134,428	63,000	19,761	217,189
1972	1,034,979	621,683	111,805	81,069	814,557	149,778	49,191	21,453	220,422
1973	1,110,229	696,896	120,000	84,410	901,306	159,447	25,554	23,922	208,923
Manitoba									
1956	..	..	..	..	..	1,343	..	55	1,398
1961	18,288	11,593	3,992	390	15,975	2,225	..	88	2,313
1966	42,618	28,948	9,398	1,222	39,568	2,812	155	83	3,050
1970	84,442	58,944	13,364	5,957	78,265	5,808	206	163	6,177
1971	91,624	61,415	15,390	5,507	82,312	7,049	300	1,963	9,312
1972	100,583	65,040	20,704	5,463	91,207	6,946	300	2,130	9,376
1973	110,338	70,796	24,000	5,701	100,497	7,466	..	2,375	9,841
Saskatchewan									
1956	..	..	..	..	..	1,658	..	10	1,668
1961	14,189	9,103	2,403	340	11,846	2,250	38	55	2,343
1966	44,663	26,494	14,163	1,002	41,659	2,674	257	73	3,004
1970	66,238	47,886	10,211	3,813	61,910	3,645	320	363	4,328
1971	73,076	52,027	11,070	3,740	66,837	4,692	680	867	6,239
1972	73,585	56,871	5,401	4,069	66,341	5,101	1,200	943	7,244
1973	79,561	61,316	6,000	4,213	71,529	6,980	..	1,052	8,032

TABLE 19

EXPENDITURES ON POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION, PROVINCES AND CANADA
(BY TYPE OF EDUCATION) (cont'd)

	Total	University				Non-university			
		Operating	Capital	Departmental & Other	Sub-total	Operating	Capital	Departmental & Other	Sub-total
Alberta									
1956	..	..	..	..	..	2,133	..	25	2,158
1961	26,797	14,924	7,347	1,138	23,409	2,646	714	28	3,388
1966	104,340	47,476	41,308	3,548	92,332	6,380	5,463	165	12,008
1970	203,426	111,840	49,374	14,620	175,834	24,267	2,675	650	27,592
1971	219,864	121,003	53,004	13,798	187,805	29,075	600	2,384	32.059
1972	215,359	124,000	40.065	14,557	178,602	33,525	600	2,632	36,757
1973	229,734	137,682	30,000	15,526	184,108	41.191	1,500	2,935	45,626
British Columbia									
1956	..	..	..	..	..	1,468	..	58	1,526
1961	31,728	22,250	6,851	628	29,729	1,982	..	17	1,999
1966	104,838	63,710	26,459	2,877	93,046	4,895	6,696	203	11,792
1970	174,888	116,153	19,167	10,428	145,748	22,889	5,626	625	29,140
1971	196,048	125,518	29,809	8.776	164,103	24,379	4,030	3,536	31,945
1972	188,886	132,606	14,479	8,907	155,992	25,965	3,043	3,886	32,894
1973	206,669	147,162	15,000	9,370	171,532	30,804	..	4,333	35,137
Western Provinces									
1956	36,968	24,212	5,720	377	30,218	6,602	..	148	6.750
1961	91,002	57,870	20,593	2,496	80,959	9,103	752	188	10,043
1966	296,459	166,628	91,328	8,649	266,605	16,759	12,571	524	29,854
1970	528,994	334.823	92,116	34,818	461,757	56,609	8,827	1,801	67,237
1971	580.612	359,963	109,273	31,821	501,057	65,195	5,610	8,750	79,555
1972	578.413	378,517	80,629	32,996	492,142	71,537	5,143	9,591	86,271
1973	626.302	417,956	75,000	34,710	527,666	86,441	1,500	10,695	98,636

TABLE 19

EXPENDITURES ON POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION, PROVINCES AND CANADA
(BY TYPE OF EDUCATION)

(concluded)

	Total	University				Non-university			
		Operating	Capital	Departmental & Other	Sub-total	Operating	Capital	Departmental & Other	Sub-total
Canada									
1956	148.295	90,119	21,034	4,956	116.109	31,503	..	683	32,186
1961	369,057	211,330	85,008	14,291	310,629	49,030	6,942	2,456	58,428
1966	1,116,612	582,295	324,466	84,886	991,647	96,570	19,949	8,446	124,965
1970	2,257,909	1,223,947	392,243	213,414	1,829,604	316,946	67,707	43,652	428,305
1971	2,387,223	1,377,751	316,153	194,219	1,888,123	368,061	84,149	46.890	499,100
1972	2,443,190	1,441,231	235.448	208,827	1,885,506	433,371	74,334	49,979	557,684
1973	2,662,218	1.596,860	240,000	217,700	2,054,560	503,699	48,054	55,905	607,658
1974	2,947,432	1,794,072	234,300	228,760	2,257,132	588,595	41.500	60,205	690,300
1975	3,294,283	2,025,383	241,500	243,100	2,509,983	683,013	36,600	64,687	784,300

TABLE 20

COURSE REGISTRATIONS[1] IN FORMAL CONTINUING EDUCATION COURSES OFFERED
BY DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION[2] AND UNIVERSITIES
FOR 1960-61[3], 1970-71[3] TO 1972-73[3]

	Canada	Nfld.	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.	Yukon N.W.T.
Department of Education												
Credit: Academic												
1960-61	86,783	1,218	-	1,206	1,714	22,528	26,956	3,283	6,571	5,077	18,236	-
1970-71	407,120	9,399	4,769	10,839	6,827	164,315	142,423	8,373	9,510	10,164	32,179	386
1971-72	386,968	10,442	4,678	7,852	6,244	143,825	150,165	7,219	12,168	18,063	25,268	607
1972-73	302,385	8,493	3,566	8,102	5,906	[illegible]	118,225	7,049	9,156	15,315	31,962	957
Vocational/Career[4]												
1960-61	154,623	1,553	620	5,491	[illegible]	33,287	65,635	6,744	8,072	4,637	22,727	-
1970-71[4]	210,799	3,064	910	5,818	3,667	46,839	75,086	3,629	3,373	16,577	51,332	364
1971-72[5]	227,706	2,209	738	6,137	2,720	73,250	62,245	4,377	3,842	17,885	44,911	577
1972-73[5]	272,205	1,879	518	5,768	[illegible]	[illegible]	89,064	3,359	3,577	8,482	62,588	84
Non-Credit: (formal courses only)												
1960-61	134,078	-	-	3,333	2,333	48,459	47,183	7,230	7,640	1,796	20,906	-
1970-71[4]	373,659	963	2,676	11,592	6,746	84,478	108,509	10,088	6,649	22,777	121,042	760
1971-72	519,668	7,800	3,948	12,753	6,389	116,096	186,755	17,123	8,210	36,761	126,845	1,020
1972-73	623,000	7,812	4,526	16,670	6,920	150,132	219,241	20,739	9,563	45,667	140,760	1,218
Department of Education TOTAL												
1960-61	375,464	2,771	620	10,228	9,884	104,274	134,772	17,257	22,283	11,508	61,867	-
1970-71	991,577	13,406	8,355	28,249	16,638	295,632	326,016	22,090	19,532	57,518	204,553	1,690
1971-72	1,134,342	20,451	9,364	26,742	15,353	331,169	397,165	28,719	24,220	[illegible]	197,024	2,206
1972-73	1,157,588	18,184	8,602	30,360	15,399	360,851	426,570	31,147	22,276	[illegible]	212,364	2,259
Universities												
Credit[5] (regular, summer session & correspondence)												
1960-61	76,176	110	-	1,650	5,377	18,625	28,372	4,447	5,206	6,282	5,109	-
1970-71	371,550	8,186	2,752	10,661	12,120	124,662	138,820	22,178	12,780	20,223	19,168	-
1971-72	372,480	8,649	3,257	10,236	12,039	118,215	147,732	21,876	15,588	20,221	14,667	-
1972-73	373,452	8,495	3,084	11,012	11,547	110,148	156,165	21,518	15,054	21,518	14,931	-
Non-Credit (formal courses only)												
1960-61	119,255	434	-	5,357	3,069	16,75	38,962	3,834	10,342	19,382	21,145	-
1970-71	148,762	505	323	3,751	2,764	29,292	55,567	6,901	7,918	18,482	23,259	-
1971-72	156,082	2,586	632	4,095	2,679	27,208	48,052	6,402	9,701	22,609	32,518	-
1972-73	185,605	2,924	251	5,727	3,565	36,380	54,904	7,299	13,128	25,654	35,776	-
Universities TOTAL												
1960-61	194,431	544	-	7,007	8,426	35,375	67,334	8,281	15,564	25,664	26,254	-
1970-71	520,312	8,691	3,075	14,412	14,884	153,954	194,387	29,079	20,698	38,705	42,427	-
1971-72	528,562	11,235	3,689	14,331	14,518	145,423	195,784	28,278	25,289	42,830	47,185	-
1972-73	558,057	1,419	3,335	16,735	15,112	146,529	211,069	28,817	28,183	47,172	50,707	-
Total Credit												
1960-61	317,562	2,881	620	8,345	12,928	74,449	120,961	14,474	19,847	15,996	46,070	-
1970-71	989,468	10,629	8,431	27,318	22,614	[illegible]	356,329	34,180	25,663	54,964	102,679	950
1971-72	987,156	21,300	8,693	24,225	21,003	335,290	360,142	33,472	31,598	56,169	84,846	1,184
1972-73	948,042	18,867	7,160	24,882	20,026	320,867	363,414	31,926	27,787	65,515	86,557	1,061
Total Non-Credit												
1960-61	253,333	434	-	8,890	5,382	65,209	81,145	11,064	17,982	21,176	42,051	-
1970-71	522,420	1,468	2,999	15,343	8,908	113,770	162,076	16,989	14,567	41,259	144,301	760
1971-72	675,750	10,386	4,380	16,848	8,868	141,302	232,807	23,525	17,911	59,350	159,363	1,020
1972-73	808,613	10,736	4,777	22,193	10,485	186,512	274,165	28,038	22,672	71,321	176,516	1,218
GRAND TOTAL												
1960-61	569,895	3,315	620	17,235	18,310	139,649	202,106	25,538	37,829	37,172	88,121	-
1970-71	1,311,899	22 097	11,430	42,661	31,122	449,586	518,405	51,169	40,230	96,223	246,980	1,690
1971-72	1,662,906	31,686	13,073	41,073	29,871	476,592	592,949	56,997	49,509	115,519	244,209	2,206
1972-73	1,764,802	29,603	11,937	47,075	30,511	507,379	637,559	59,964	50,459	116,836	263,073	2,259

1 - Registrations are larger than the number of students because some may be registered in two or more courses (activities).

2 - Includes school boards, correspondence study, public trade schools and colleges. There were few "colleges" in 1960-61.

3 - Refers to a complete 12-month period (July 1 - June 30).

4 - No college data were available for 1970-71.

5 - Credit course registration data are estimates based on actual student enrolments.

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13. Newfoundland operates a denominational system, providing schools for the following religious groups: Roman Catholic, United Church, Church of England, Salvation Army, Seventh-Day Adventists and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland. This information appears in Table 5 of the Annex.

14. Education in Canada, op. cit., p. 7.

15. Ibid., p. 121.

16. Canadian Teachers' Federation, Educational Finance in Canada (Ottawa: 1954), p. 52.1.

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18. *Education in Canada*, op. cit.

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21. This issue is discussed at some length in *The Parent Report*, op. cit., pp. 79-86.

22. J. Douglas Ayers, "Present Educational Expenditures and Our National Potential," in *Canadian Conference on Education*, op. cit., p. 208.

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